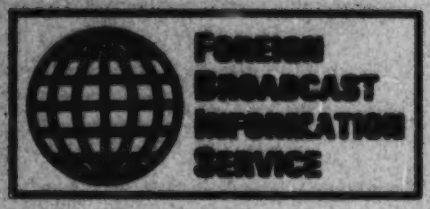

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-205
Tuesday
24 October 1995

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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-205 *24 October 1995*

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Environmental Conference Opens in Sofia

LD2310210595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1821 GMT 23 Oct 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Oct. 23 (TANJUG)—3rd European ministerial conference on ecology chairman, Spanish Environmental Protection Minister Jose Poel [name as received] said Monday environmental protection would become a priority task in all of Europe as of next year.

At the threshold of a new industrial era, Europe must look at the priorities of new technologies and establish how to implement them, the Spanish minister said, addressing the participants in the conference which was opened in Sofia on Monday by Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov.

The conference has rallied 630 delegates and ministers from 54 European countries, the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, and representatives of over 40 U.N. organizations.

There are no representatives of the neighboring Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the conference.

The absence of a Yugoslav delegation is most detrimental to neighboring countries and all others in the region, said a letter addressed to the conference by Yugoslav Minister for Science, Education and Ecology, Dr. Janko Radulovic, TANJUG learned.

The letter also said ecological actions could not be successfully carried out without joint efforts by all the countries of the region.

The host of the conference, the Bulgarian Ministry of Ecology, did everything it could for a Yugoslav delegation to attend the Sofia meeting, but the organizing committee was against because of [words indistinct]. Sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro.

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Parties Take Legal Action Against Genocide Law

AU2310120195 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 18 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by E. Abilekaj: "PSD Takes Legal Action Again on Genocide Law"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Constitutional Court yesterday decided to consider the law "on genocide..." after the Social Democratic Party [PSD] took legal action against it again. The first time the law was the subject of legal action it was when the PSD parliamentary group and the Democratic Alliance [AD] deputies took action. The Constitutional Court ruled the action invalid on the pretext that the AD has no parliamentary group. The day before yesterday [16 October] the parliamentary group directed by [PSD Chairman Skender] Gjinushi took action on the "genocide" law for the second time. A few hours later the court responded positively and decided on a date and time for the hearing, [date not given] the time being 0900 local time. "We are hoping for a just decision, and, though we have criticized and do not agree with the decisions of the Constitutional Court, we believe that there are limits to obedience to the state power," the PSD chairman says. Gjinushi adds that the Constitutional Court must understand the responsibility "it has before the nation first. Violation of justice leads to the establishment of dictatorship," he told KOHA JONE. The number one of the left centrists has also criticized another negative decision of the Constitutional Court as unpardonable. "If a politician's positions are anticonstitutional, he can 'justify' himself, but a lawyer cannot do this," he says. Gjinushi considers another factor that gives him hope for a positive outcome. "Albania is a member of the Council of Europe and it had great difficulty becoming a member. We have to fulfill all our obligations and to not take steps backwards."

The AD, which joined the PSD in taking legal action against the "genocide" law, considers the Constitutional Court's decisions to be unjustifiable. According to [Ridvan] Peshkepia, [Democratic Alliance Party—PAD official], the fact that it was signed by the PSD parliamentary group eliminated the need for the PAD parliamentary group [as published]. "It is not the issue of our parliamentary group that [Constitutional Court Chairman] Gjata should be dealing with, but the Shkoder people he sentenced to death." Peshkepia was referring to two priests of the northern town who were sentenced to death by Gjata. "He must render account for those death sentences, he must explain why his penalties are the most severe of those envisaged by the law," adds Peshkepia. The PAD leader expects Gjata to be tried in the future. "He can be sure that he will have to answer for what he has done with the antigenocide law," Peshkepia concludes.

Gjinushi expresses his indignation at the Constitutional Court's avoidance of the PAD. He does not consider that this based on law, at a time when PSD was also the one who took action against the "genocide." [as published] "We undertook this together with PAD to make another move in the direction of cooperation of the center between the [political] poles," Gjinushi says. "For us it is important how the law is considered and not simply the formal aspect," the PSD leader says in conclusion.

Interior Minister Notes Decrease in Major Crimes

AU2110175095 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 20 Oct 95

[Report by Robert Prifti on news conference by Interior Minister Agron Musaraj given in Tirana on 20 October—Musaraj statements recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Musaraj] The decreasing number of crimes in general, and the significant drop in the reports of serious crimes such as killings, rape, looting, etc., in particular, in addition to a normal situation of order and calm in public environments, are arguments testifying that the level of order and calm and the citizens' security against criminal acts have been strengthened and increased.

[Prifti] Through figures, Interior Minister Agron Musaraj showed the considerable decrease in criminal acts during the nine-month period, primarily due to the increased efforts by the public order authorities to detect crimes. Compared with the same period last year, a drop of 9.8 percent in the criminal acts committed in the country has been noticed, while the detective force has been increased by 3 percent.

Analyzing special kinds of crimes, Minister Musaraj pointed out that the largest decreases have been observed in serious crimes, such as in killings by 18 percent, factual [as heard] crimes by 38 percent, crimes against property or acts [words indistinct]. He attributed these achievements to the priority given by the police forces to investigative measures and the increase in their capability to attack and prevent crime. Such increase in the level of the police work, according to Musaraj, has resulted in a significant increase in the citizens' security.

Musaraj declared to the journalists that during the third quarter of the year, the phenomenon of cultivating narcotic plants has frequently appeared, particularly in the south of the country. He related these phenomena with the defects in the work of the police commissariats

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in southern districts. Despite this, Musaraj stressed, the complex measures taken by the ministry he is heading have led to detecting and destroying the areas sown with these plants and apprehending 108 persons.

Regarding the smuggling of strong drugs, Minister Musaraj rejected some data by foreign agencies and media that the largest part of these goes through Albania toward West Europe.

[Musaraj] The danger for the future is very great. The measures we are taking are very good. The reality is what I just told you.

[Prifti] Musaraj also pointed out the measures taken to increase cooperation with the police of neighboring countries, such as Italy and Greece, to prevent this trafficking. At the news conference, Minister Musaraj declared that the traffic of clandestine people is undergoing a considerable decrease compared to four to five months ago. Musaraj explained that this is a consequence of the strict measures in strengthening the border regime, detecting the clandestine bases and the persons organizing this trafficking, and blocking the transportation means. Musaraj said that an important part has been played by an agreement with Italy on preventing this trafficking, which was signed during the visit paid there by President Berisha.

Minister Musaraj also pointed out to reporters the increased efficiency in the work of implementing the embargo through carrying out continuous inspections and blocking and seizing considerable amounts of fuel during this period.

Minister Musaraj considered the police's latest interventions to prevent some activities by various political forces to be in conformity with the law, as these forces had in fact violated the law.

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FRY Charge on Bosnian Cease-Fire, Postwar State

AU2410110995 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 19 Oct 95 p 9

[Interview with Rados Smilkovic, charge d'affaires ad interim at the FRY Embassy in Sofia, by Georgi Sharabov; place and date not given: "Peace Will Come in Bosnia if the United States and West Europe Really Want It"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sharabov] Mr. Smilkovic, do you believe that the cease-fire arranged in Bosnia with Washington's mediation will lead to a lasting settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslav republic after so many previous truce agreements have failed?

[Smilkovic] This is the 35th truce since the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina began almost four years ago. Whether it brings peace or not depends totally on the Muslim-Croatian side, which is supported by certain powerful forces, as is well-known. Of course, as the chief actor in the negotiations, the United States bears the greatest responsibility, because it holds the keys to peace or war in its hands. It is evident that the actual development of the talks between the warring parties depends to a very large extent on external factors. The failure of the previous truces was also in conformance with the interests of some of these factors.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] supported all the plans put forward for ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and is doing so now. In the negotiations, the Serbian side in Bosnia-Herzegovina was represented by a single delegation of representatives of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the FRY, led by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. In this situation, a terrible paradox occurred: The Serbian side in Bosnia-Herzegovina accepted the American plan, and yet NATO furiously bombed the Serb positions for weeks. The Muslims and Croats, with the aid of the superbly armed regular troops of Croatia, are coordinating their offensives with NATO and the UN Rapid Reaction Force. Even under these conditions, the Yugoslavia-Serbian side is continuing the negotiations. In the meantime, the Serbs are losing a considerable part of their territories, including Drvar, Petrovac, [Bosansko] Grahovo, Glamoc, and other towns in western Bosnia that have been purely Serb for centuries. The enemy is pressing his offensive toward Banja Luka, the historic ethnic center of the Bosnian Serb Krajina, which contains almost half a million people—inhabitants, refugees, and troops. At the same time, the other side has received new, unused armaments. The NATO planes did not bomb the truce violators, but the victims of the war.

Is what is happening to the Serbs fair? If a nation that deliberately sacrifices itself for peace is deceived, in accordance with all the natural social laws, it changes into an explosive force. In this situation, it is difficult to foresee an end to the civil war. Last week, the question was asked in THE NEW YORK TIMES: "Why did NATO not send its planes against the regular Croat and Muslim troops outside Banja Luka?" We do not want fresh conflagrations. We know that one does not use gasoline to put out a fire. However, the United States must demonstrate by its deeds that it will not tolerate the destruction of its own peace initiative by the Muslims and Croats. In this way, they will show that they are seriously working for peace.

Thus, the fate of the American initiative depends primarily on America itself, and then on the rest—the European actors and Russia. The Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina have nowhere to go to, and on their territory there is almost nothing left to bomb.

Our faith in the truce is being shaken by the new long columns of Serb refugees who have been expelled from their homes in western Bosnia.

[Sharabov] In your view, are the United States and West Europe serious in their assurances that Bulgaria will receive a share in the postwar reconstruction of former Yugoslavia?

[Smilkovic] The United States and Europe are powers that rule the world. Who has the right to doubt that they are serious? In the case of former Yugoslavia, they have done everything they promised. Now, as for preparing former Yugoslavia for reconstruction, they continue to "prepare the site." NATO achieved more than could have been expected of it. If the preparations continue like this, Bulgaria will have no reason to be worried about its participation in the restoration work during the next 10 years. What I would recommend is that we should hasten to prepare for economic cooperation between our two countries in the postembargo period. This will be of lasting benefit to both sides. We should ceaselessly learn from the West—their companies are not sitting around waiting. Regarding compensation for the losses suffered by the embargo, you should not forget your previous experience, especially following the war in the Persian Gulf. I am not aware that you have received any compensation, nor has Yugoslavia.

[Sharabov] When the Yugoslav embargo is lifted, will Belgrade seek more active economic and political relations with Sofia?

[Smilkovic] The FRY and its Republics of Montenegro and Serbia support lasting, comprehensive cooperation with Bulgaria. Good political cooperation, especially at

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the top level, is an important prerequisite for economic, cultural, and other ties between our two countries' peoples. This is emphasized in all the statements made by the FRY's top representatives. This is why recently, during the meetings with the Bulgarian Orthodox Church delegation led by Patriarch Maksim, the presidents of Serbia, Yugoslavia, and the FRY prime minister emphasized that the FRY was interested and ready to start this cooperation, which should be much more intensive in the economic field.

The chambers of commerce, many companies, and our states have already done a lot to specify this cooperation in concrete terms. They are working very actively to prepare for the postembargo period.

[Sharabov] Who has the most to gain from the attempt on the life of the President of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Kiro Gligorov in Skopje?

[Smilkovic] I sincerely hope that President Gligorov quickly recovers. The continuation of the peace policy between our countries is a condition for resolving all the other issues in the Balkans without the use of force. Assassination attempts have always been and remain a means of achieving dishonorable aims. Every assassination carried out in the Balkans to date has been a harbinger of fresh troubles.

[Sharabov] Will this terrorist act delay the mutual recognition of FYROM and the FRY?

[Smilkovic] No assassinations could threaten the good relations between our peoples and countries, especially following the friendly meeting between President Milosevic and President Gligorov.

Finance, Interior Ministers' Dismissals Suggested

AU2410081795 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 19 Oct 95 p 3

[24 CHASA staff report: "Finance Minister To Be Dismissed Before Year's End?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Well-informed sources claim that Finance Minister Dimitur Kostov will lose his post before the end of the year. The alleged motive for his dismissal is the expected failure of the 1995 budget and the breakdown of the negotiations with the international financial institutions.

Deputies claim that other personnel and structural changes are to take place in December. Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] headquarters are expected to demand the replacement of Interior Minister Lyubomir Nachev because of the series of blunders he made, the last of which was the amputation of the right hand of Kiro Gligorov. However, for the time being, Zhan Videnov is said to be unwilling to take such a step, because this would mean acknowledging that the government's crime-fighting program is a fiasco.

Because of the attacks on Nachev, the prime minister and his colleagues are reportedly very uneasy regarding the "interior minister" topic, while the chief of the Interior Ministry himself refuses to talk to journalists. The solution to the situation is likely to come soon after the local elections, when BSP headquarters will renew its pressure.

The Ministry of Economic Development, which the Socialists themselves set up, is likely to be closed down within a few months. However, Deputy Prime Minister Rumen Gechev may remain in the cabinet as a "minister without portfolio." Videnov is reported to he displeased with Gechev's striving to promote his own image, but is said to appreciate the energy displayed by his deputy.

Gechev's future is expected to be decided after the successful launch of the mass privatization early next year. In the event of its failure or delay, informed sources claim that the present deputy minister will most likely be given an ambassador's post. Minister Nachev is also likely to suffer the same fate.

The posts of several other ministers are also in doubt, but the cabinet changes will be seriously discussed in the light of the local election results.

Japanese Aum Sect Activities Suspected in Varna

AU2310142995 Paris AFP in English 1406 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Oct 23 (AFP)—The Japanese Aum Supreme Truth sect allegedly behind a nerve gas attack in Tokyo last March that killed 11 and poisoned thousands is suspected of carrying out "very dangerous" activities in Bulgaria, authorities here said.

Bulgarian police suspect the sect, whose leaders in Japan have been arrested and are awaiting trial, of being active in the city of Varna, on the Black Sea, according to the Varna daily CHERNOMORZHE.

Operating under the name New White Fraternity, the Aum sect has organized meetings in a meeting room for transport workers and has distributed leaflets signed "Aum", according to the paper.

Experts cited by the paper described the leaflets as "very dangerous". The leaflets contained cryptic maxims such as "one must overcome earthbound consciousness" and "the calm at the flame's center" permits one to "master the universe".

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A Bulgarian official in charge of religious affairs told AFP that the link between the Varna organization and Aum has "yet to be proven."

At the same time, however, the Varna group is certainly connected with a sister-sect in Kiev, the White Fraternity, that is in turn linked to Aum, the official said.

In Japan, the Tokyo District Court decided late Monday to go ahead with the trial of Aum guru Shoko Asahara on Thursday despite the injury of his attorney in a car accident, news reports said.

Ecological Groups Protest Against Kozloduy Reactor

AU2310190795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] (?Antony Fobet), Greenpeace representative, called for an immediate closure of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant first reactor during a protest rally in front of the National Palace of Culture organized by the Ecoglasnost National Movement.

He was supported by representatives of international organizations, such as Friends of the Earth and the Green Patrols, and the Ecoglasnost National Movement, as well as Sofia citizens.

Some six years ago, Ecoglasnost used to collect signatures in front of the Cafe Crystal against the Rila water project. Now, six years later, the project is again on the agenda, and some of the people who protested against it six years ago, now intend to vote for it, Edvin Sugarev said.

Two declarations of the Movements of Ecologists in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] were read during the rally. The declarations call upon all Balkan ecological organizations to struggle against nuclear power plants in the Balkans and for the immediate closure of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant's first reactor.

Afterward, the participants in the demonstrations marched to the garden in front of the Cafe Crystal, where a tree was planted.

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KSCM: Integration Serving Interests of Powers

AU2410093895 Prague PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by "(zaj)": "The KSCM Is Against the EU and NATO, Which Serve the Powers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The current forms of integration serve "the interests of capital and the powers." Therefore, the KSCM [Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia] cannot support them. This statement was made at a news conference on 19 October by KSCM Deputy Chairman Zdenek Klanica in reaction to the endeavors to incorporate the Czech Republic into the European Union [EU] and NATO.

He added that Civic Democratic Alliance Chairman Jan Kalvoda has "patently become a major campaigner for the Czech Republic's lightning entry into the EU in view of his acute need for preelection visibility." According to Klanica, Kalvoda, who at one time "spoke out expressively in favor of breaking up the joint state and boiled over with a kind of Czech nationalism," is now scaring us "with the horrors that will apparently come from the East." At the same time, he fails to mention a referendum, added Klanica.

According to him, the right wing is mainly interested in making sure that "it secures the inviolability of its property gains and positions of power with the assistance of the West European structures." The KSCM wants a Europe without nuclear weapons in which the Czech Republic would not be a hostage to NATO's power politics, he added.

HTT-Tesla: Tamara Exported to Oman 'Lost'

AU2410082195 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 20 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by Ferdinand Peroutka: "The President of HTT-Tesla Pardubice Is Allowing for the Possibility That a Tamara Has Been 'Lost'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] HTT-Tesla President Oldrich Barak yesterday confirmed a TELEGRAF report that a state-of-the-art Tamara defense system exported to Oman in 1991 has been "lost." He added, however, that this was a delivery made by the then Tesla Pardubice state enterprise.

"We do not know where that Tamara is. Unquestionably, it was reexported because it comes as something of a surprise that a country to which this system was never supplied wants spare parts for it," says Barak. He is refusing to specify this country, but he concedes that it is on a completely different continent than Oman. According to our newspaper's information, it is the United States. In this context, Barak said that the Tamara contracted to Kyrgysztan is also the subject of speculation about its reexport to another country. According to Barak, the Czech authorities have already verified three times the documents in which Kyrgysztan has undertaken not to give the system to another country.

At present, 28 countries, including some NATO states, are interested in Tamara, continued Barak. Only the countries that the United Nations has described as terrorist are excluded from the possible interested parties. In this connection, Barak denied that Iran is interested in Tamara. He also denied that Tamara is an espionage system and emphasized that it is a defensive system that makes it possible to detect the ground, air, and seaborne targets that come within its range. The system reacts to sources of electromagnetic waves—for example, radars, jamming devices, and identification and transmission systems. In an airspace, it is capable of identifying the position and type of an aircraft up to a distance of 450 km. According to Barak, the current Tamara is capable of automatically monitoring 72 targets at once.

Oldrich Barak considers the reports of the HTT-Tesla Pardubice company's bankruptcy to be a "provocation of the coarsest kind" and "aimed at impairing its business deal." He said that the company intends to submit a complaint against those spreading such reports. Barak confirmed that HTT-Tesla Pardubice had economic problems, that bankruptcy proceedings were initiated, and that its bankruptcy was declared. This, however, was revoked in April, and the Hradec Kralove Regional Court has now suspended the bankruptcy proceedings. Therefore, according to Barak, it is quite irresponsible to spread rumors about the company's bankruptcy, especially through our representative office in Kyrgysztan.

General Says Armed Forces' Situation Improved

95CH0367E Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Aug 95 p 7

[Interview with Air Force Inspector General Pavel Strubl by Petr Bakovsky; place and date not given: "Following the Final Transformation, the Situation Is Not Improving for the Time Being"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bakovsky] The purpose of last year's transformation of the Air Force, which signified its considerable reduction, was the improvement of the economic situation in the armed forces and the acquisition of appropriate resources for the operation of the remaining equipment. Now, however, there are voices even from the ranks of the military indicating that the situation has deteriorated further. It is reported that

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it is even necessary to dismantle mothballed aircraft so as to provide enough aircraft for the training of pilots. Is the situation so bad or is this a case of overdone pessimism?

[Strubl] In transforming the Air Force, the economic possibilities of the military were taken into account and the decision was made that we would be operating a smaller number of aircraft, which would be, thus, better supported with spare parts. Economic possibilities were to be created for solid operations and pilot training was to be gradually increased. Over the last five years, an inadequate amount of resources was set aside for the purchase of spare parts and gradually all depot stocks were exhausted. Of the requested financial resources for operation, we received only one-fourth. All of this is reflected in the fact that there are no more spare parts in depots, financial resources for spare part purchases are inadequate, and, therefore, there is a gradual reduction in the operating capabilities of aviation equipment. This particularly involves equipment for the training of pilots. This year, pilots were to fly as many as 90 hours per year; in subsequent years, flying hours were to be increased by approximately 10 hours, so that over time pilots would be able to log 140-150 flying hours. The current situation is not good and that is why there is an intensive search on for resources in order to change it. I believe that this will occur within one or two months.

[Bakovsky] Would it not be possible for, say, the successful sale of MiG-29's, which are based at the airfield in Ceske Budejovice, to result in resources for the Air Force?

[Strubl] Yes, but this would have to be permitted by the Ministry of Finance because the money for all sold military property passes to the state budget. But it is possible for the government to make an exception in this case and to make it possible to utilize these resources for the further development of the Air Force. But the sale is a question for the Ministry of Defense, not for the General Staff.

[Bakovsky] How does the shortage of financial resources square with the effort to modernize the MiG-21's?

[Strubl] In the Armed forces, resources for investments, for development, and resources for operations are maintained separately. Of course, there is also a variation according to which, if there is no modernization, these resources are shifted to resources for operations and would be used, for example, for the purchase of spare parts. But even this decision is not for us to make.

[Bakovsky] By when is it necessary to find a solution so that training would not break down?

[Strubl] It will not break down. There are combat-capable aircraft that are capable of wartime deployment even after the number of flight training hours are exhausted. In other words, combat capability is generally good, but there are no aircraft for a continuation of pilot training. Even if we were to receive some resources at the present time, it will take a certain amount of time before aircraft can be successfully repaired. But if resources were to be provided—and I believe that they will be—at least the decline in operating capability would be halted (it is gradually beginning to increase).

[Bakovsky] Critical voices are beginning to be heard, particularly from the ranks of the pilots. Why is that?

[Strubl] Pilots were promised that after completion of the transformation the situation would be improving, and this has thus far not occurred. The pilots demonstrated a great deal of patience, but as long as this situation persists for too long—and it is persisting—they are nervous. If we have undertaken transformation and have virtually one-half of the aircraft permitted us by the limits of the Vienna Accords on conventional armed forces (230 combat aircraft and 50 attack helicopters—editorial comment), then there should be enough financial resources for that half.

But the overall prospects are roughly clear. At present, a decision is being made as to whether to modernize the MiG-21's. If not, we will continue to fly with what we have. As of 1998, after purchasing the Czech-made L-159's, the armed forces will have new aviation equipment. After the year 2000, a new supersonic aircraft is to be purchased. Consideration is also being given to the purchase of helicopters. The systems of air operations control are in very good shape—considerable resources were invested here—because the systems have to do with aircraft operations throughout the whole republic.

For next year, everything should be planned carefully; we should be clear at the beginning of the year about how many financial resources we shall receive and the situation should improve. We know how many flying hours we have planned for our pilots and how many spare parts we shall need. The problem lies in the fact that as spare parts were not delivered, the amount of resources we request for them is gradually growing. The Air Force is expensive. It is the most expensive weapon everywhere in the world. Even though the Air Force accounts, for example, for one-third of the size of the armed forces, to allocate it one-third of the funds is nonsense because this is too little.

[Bakovsky] How many hours, then, are the pilots to log next year?

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[Strubl] It will be around 90 hours. But we know from experience that our 90 hours amount to virtually as much as 150 hours amount to in the West. The reason lies in the fact that in our small territory the pilot is above the training area five minutes after takeoff and begins to train. He trains for half an hour and returns to base in five minutes. In the West, the situation is often such (I personally have experienced this) that one takes off, flies 30 minutes to the training area, trains 10 to 15 minutes there, and once more takes 30 minutes to return to base. The flight duration is over an hour, but actual training amounted to 15 minutes. In our country, the intensity of training is, thus, expressly greater.

[Bakovsky] Air defense is not only performed by the Air Force; how are the other components faring?

[Strubl] The radar components and antiaircraft missile troops are substantially better off. The radar troops are engaged in partial modernization. Not a single arm of service is experiencing such problems as is the Air Force—I would categorize their situation as being good.

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Schenk Favors 'Compromise' With Russia on NATO

AU2410122495 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by "al": "Juraj Schenk: No Words of Concern Were Spoken"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk was asked by PRAVDA [at his Bratislava news conference on 19 October] about his positions on Russian President Yeltsin's statement on 18 October that NATO's enlargement eastward would be madness and on the proposal by Yevgeniy Primakov, the Russian intelligence chief, that NATO extend guarantees to East European countries that fear for their security without, however, making them members of the alliance. Schenk replied that two tendencies are prevalent in the case of Russia. One clearly rejects the idea of NATO's enlargement, and one seeks a compromise. It is also necessary to realize that Russia is facing presidential elections. The tougher rhetoric could also be a consequence of the disillusion among part of Russian society over Russia's no longer playing the role it used to play in the international arena, the minister said, and expressed the hope that the quest for a compromise will ultimately prevail on both sides. [passage omitted]

President Asks To See Kidnap Investigation File

AU2410123895 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Oct 95 p 1

[Article by "ns": "Office of the President Asked To Look at the Investigation File"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—On 17 October, the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic asked the Police Corps Regional Office of Investigations in Bratislava to be allowed to look into the investigation file concerning the case of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad. This was confirmed by President Michal Kovac in an interview for PRAVDA and TASR yesterday. Explaining this step, the head of state said that he is contemplating granting pardons. "Inasmuch as I have already initiated this process, it is necessary that I be allowed to look into the file, which is my right as president of the Republic," Kovac added, and specified that granting pardons would apply to those who participated in that operation. Asked by PRAVDA whether the Office of the President has obtained a response from the appropriate body, the president replied that, so far, it has not. "I am waiting for them to call upon us to fetch a copy of this file," the president said.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 20 October on page 1 carries a 100-word SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA report, which quotes Vladimir Stefko, the president's spokesman, as having "confirmed" that the president's office had asked for the investigation file. "At the same time, Vladimir Stefko rejected all speculation that the president would want to interfere with the investigation process," the report adds.]

Participant Asks To Be Arrested

AU2410101095 Bratislava SME in Slovak 20 Oct 95 p 1

[Interview with an unidentified "former SIS member" by Peter Toth; place and date not given: "Former SIS Member Claims He Was at the Location of Jaroslav S.'s Meeting With Vladimir Meciar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In view of the doubts that have been cast on some of the statements made by the former Slovak Information Service [SIS] member who furnished evidence of his identity by means of his SIS service pass in his interview for the 17 October issue of SME, today we publish the reaction of this man, a former SIS first lieutenant with service pass number 101467.

[Toth] After the publication of our first interview, certain doubts have been cast on some of your statements, particularly those concerning events in which you did not directly participate. Could you tell us from where you drew your information?

[Former SIS agent] The practice in the SIS is such that high-level functionaries do not have their own bodyguards but are always accompanied by a car of the surveillance section. I went to Jaroslav S.'s meeting with Vladimir Meciar as Jaroslav S.'s escort.

[Toth] Some critics wonder why you insisted on remaining anonymous when people whom you might fear must have recognized you according to your service pass number. Can you explain that?

[Former SIS agent] My former superiors know who I am, on the basis of my pass number. I asked that my name and identity be kept secret because of my family and the surroundings. I did not hand in the SIS pass because it is my only proof that I worked in the SIS. If I were to hand it in, it would definitely be erased from the records, and I could never prove that I used to work there. I submitted my notice in writing after testifying before Major Vacok.

[Toth] Doubts have also appeared questioning the justification of your fears for your life. Do you think that some specific people might be interested in your elimination?

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[Former SIS agent] I believe that the case of Michal Kovac Jr. is clear proof of what our secret service can do.

[Toth] Could you specify how you recognized the voice of [SIS Director] Ivan Lexa, who, according to you, directed the entire assault and kidnapping of Michal Kovac Jr.?

[Former SIS agent] I heard him speak on television several times, and his voice is easy to remember. Moreover, a man who is personally close to me and on whose recommendation I joined SIS confirmed to me indirectly that it was Ivan Lexa who masterminded the whole operation. This man, Dezider K., is to this day a high-ranking SIS functionary.

[Toth] In the meantime, the second investigator has been taken off the case. Do you have evidence at hand that will not lose weight before the court, even after several years, and that may contribute to uncovering the main perpetrators of the criminal act of a Slovak Republic citizen's abduction abroad?

[Former SIS agent] All of the evidence and traces to which I led investigator Vacok are surely documented in the investigation file, and, unless someone removes them, they will carry weight for years.

[Toth] [Former] Investigator Vacok brought charges of complicity against you in Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction. Do you not mind this, and do you not hold this against investigator Vacok?

[Former SIS agent] When I testified, I realized that I would also have to bear the consequences. What I find startling, however, is that, after my confession and after my testimony containing a great many details affirming that I really took part in the operation, Prosecutor Vlachovsky dropped the charges against me. I am grateful to him, but I disagree with such pseudodemocracy. Mr. Prosecutor, I am therefore calling upon you to act professionally in this case and according to your conscience, if you still have one. I am confident that the case will be clarified one day, and it can happen, Mr. Prosecutor, that you will then change places with some of your erstwhile clients.

Kovac's Office Rejects Criticism of FRG Visit

AU2310144895 Bratislava SME in Slovak 20 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by TASR: "Slovak Authorities Cooperated in the Preparation of Michal Kovac's Visit to Germany"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Press Section of the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic has issued a statement noting that President Michal Kovac's 12-13 October visit to the FRG took place in close cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak Embassy in Bonn, which had also prepared background materials for Michal Kovac's speeches and talks. The statement by the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic comes in reaction to information carried by the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA on 18 October, under the headline "Serious Concern," that "the president of the Slovak Republic travels abroad without the knowledge of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, his trip is prepared by a foreign foundation that cooperates with the opposition Christian Democratic Movement, and our ambassador is not even permitted to attend the talks."

Meciar Notes Russia's Role in Mochovce Plant

LD2310143295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar will leave for a visit to Russia in a week's time—that is, on 30 October. During his visit he is expected to sign several intergovernmental agreements concerning [word indistinct] economic relations with this country.

Asked by Radiozurnal whether plans for Slovak-Russian cooperation in the completion of the nuclear power plant in Mochovce will be on the agenda, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said:

[Begin Meciar recording] Russia's participation in the completion of the nuclear power plant in Mochovce is irreplaceable. All who dream of other solutions must consider from the outset that all documentation is with the Russians. The changes are being made on the basis of the core technology, which is Russian. Western technicians, engineers, and companies, especially Electricite de France and Siemens, are joining the project in order to ensure that this technology meets the demanding European standards. These companies guarantee safety standards through their assistance in the sphere of engineering and their system of subcontracting.

Moreover, this power plant presents an enormous opportunity. For the first time, the Russians, French, Germans, Czechs, and we are working together both in providing finance and contracts. If the project succeeds, there is a chance that we can similarly reconstruct and update 44 nuclear power plants. This is an extraordinary and historic investment opportunity. If the consortium being set up for Mochovce can continue to work in a similar way on other projects, it will be an enormous success of Slovakia's economy. That is one of the reasons my government's activity is aimed at setting up this consortium and making use of this unique head start.

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We must also say that some steps taken after I came into office were not aimed at discrediting any of our West European partners. We studied the steps taken by the former leadership of the Slovak Power Company with regard to the overall investment construction project, and it soon became clear that the cost could be cut by as much as 6 billion korunas.

We assume that construction work will begin in 1996 and will cover a large part of the project. The first block should be completed in 1997, and work on the second block will follow immediately. After the first and second blocks have been completed, we will complete the third and fourth block of the Mochovce nuclear plant.

As regards Russia, in addition to providing technical documentation, it will participate in the project by giving guarantees for fuel supplies. Russia is the only country that has pledged to take fuel supplies from us. All of the other countries willing to supply fuel are not prepared to receive the fuel back and reprocess it. This is the advantage of the Russian offer, which has no competition. [end recording]

Government, Prime Ministerial Spokeswomen Named

LD2410112895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0900 GMT 24 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Slovak Government is today discussing in Bratislava the amendment to the state language law. [passage omitted]

Magda Pospisilova and Ludmila Bulakova, well known to the general public as parliamentary correspondents of the Slovak radio bulletin Radiozurnal, are also taking part in the session. Magda Pospisilova has become the prime minister's spokeswoman and Ludmila Bulakova the spokeswoman of the Slovak Government.

Official Suggests Changing Court Procedure

AU2410081895 Bratislava SME in Slovak 20 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by "jo": "Augustin Marian Huska Proposes To Change the Method of Constitutional Judges' Voting"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "When assessing laws' compliance with the Constitution (Article 125, Letter a), the Constitutional Court acts and rules when at least nine judges are present. When the Constitutional Court plenum rules on laws' compliance with the Constitution, the agreement of at least a four-fifths' majority of all judges is required," states Augustin Marian Huska (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]), deputy chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], in his written proposal for amending the law on proceedings before the Constitutional Court. In his justification of this proposal, he argues that, in this matter, the Constitutional Court is an important instrument of the interpretation of individual provisions of the Constitution and that it is therefore necessary that "rulings be consensual" and that "the method of approval" differ from the procedure in other matters. Under the Constitution, the Constitutional Court is composed of 10 judges appointed for seven-year periods. A.M. Huska uses a similar justification for his other proposal regarding verdicts by the three-member tribunal on the interpretation of the Constitution and constitutional laws. A.M. Huska proposes that, to issue such a verdict, "the agreement of all members of the tribunal is necessary. If the required agreement is not achieved, the motion will be turned down." According to the present wording of the law, the agreement of two members of the three-member Constitutional Court tribunal is necessary to issue a verdict.

In his proposal, the NRSR deputy chairman also comments on the motion addressed by a group of deputies to the Constitutional Court regarding the establishment of parliamentary commissions of inquiry. According to Huska, even Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and Democratic Union [DU] deputies had voted for enshrining these commissions in the NRSR rules of procedure. "It would be interesting to find out in the NRSR archive which KDH and present DU deputies no longer find this institution congenial and have therefore moved that the Constitutional Court issue a verdict in the matter," Augustin Marian Huska writes.

[On the same day, on page 3, Bratislava SME carries a 300-word report by "jo" on a KDH briefing held in Bratislava on 19 October. According to the report, KDH Deputy Chairman Ivan Simko qualified Huska's proposal as "aimed at paralyzing the activity" of the Constitutional Court.]

Army Holds Conference on Drug Addiction Problem

AU2410081495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SME in Slovak on 18 October devotes its entire page 5 to a conference entitled "The Drug Problem and Methods of Its Solution in the Army of the Slovak Republic" that was held on the premises of the Military Academy at Liptovsky Mikulas from 11 to 13 October. As Captain Lubos Berky from the Slovak Army General Staff's Social and Psychological Services Section tells the daily, the aim of the conference, which was attended by some 70 "experts" and high-ranking officers, was to "prepare" the Army for the drug problem. As Berky points out, "while the situation is not yet alarming, it could soon become so," in view of the rise in the number of drug addicts

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in the civilian population. According to Berky, this number is growing in "geometric progression": While in 1992 there were 78 registered heroin addicts in the Slovak civilian population, in the first half of 1995 their number reached 1,200. Even now, Berky says, marijuana cigarette butts and empty syringes are not a rare sight in the toilets of some Army barracks.

SME's page 5 includes a 1,000-word interview with Lubomir Vrazda, president of the Slovak Chamber of Military Physicians, by Juraj Mravec entitled "There Is No Place for Drug Users in a Professional Army." In the interview, which was conducted at the Liptovsky Mikulas conference, Vrazda says that "the situation in the Army is much better than in the civilian sector because the organized system of life in army units does not permit anonymity. A drug addict reveals himself very quickly." Vrazda admits, however, that "up to 50 persons are dismissed from the Army every year because of the use of heroin." In addition, the Supreme Military Court has supposedly dealt this year with three cases of marijuana abuse. According to Vrazda, no case of cocaine abuse has been registered in the Army to date.

In the interview, Vrazda mentions that the Slovak State Defense Council has decided to set up an Army "detoxification center" for drug addicts in Bratislava. The first part of the center, a monitoring unit, is to be opened in November, and its task will be "to ascertain the numbers of people addicted to individual types of drugs," Vrazda says. Separate statistics will reportedly be kept for professional soldiers and for conscripts, but the addicts themselves will remain anonymous.

According to Vrazda, the conference also discussed the need to amend some internal Army regulations because, according to existing regulations, the Army cannot dismiss soldiers who use drugs unless they are addicts. As Vrazda goes on to say, "New regulations are being drafted because in a professional army there must not be even drug users."

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Kovacs, Mecs Address 1956 Commemoration Ceremony

LD2310155395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] All those who acknowledge the goals of the revolution as their own are heirs of 23 October [1956], Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs said at a commemoration ceremony held in memory of the 1956 revolution and the fight for freedom held in Rakoskeresztur cemetery. Laszlo Kovacs said it is unworthy of the memory of October to monopolize its legacy and to use it as an excuse to call for a revolution. No revolution can be called against a democratic government, only an anticonstitutional rebellion, the foreign minister said.

Imre Mecs [Alliance of Free Democrats deputy], the other speaker at the ceremony, called for unity in the spirit of the revolution and in the interest of the revival of the economy. Mecs said Hungary will be able to fully implement the goals of the revolution if it succeeds in rejoining Europe. [passage omitted]

Association Honors 1956 Events

LD2310190995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Nearly 150 people have taken part in a commemoration [of the 1956 revolution] organized by the National Forces Association [Nemzeti Eroek Szoevetsege] and other social organizations at Zsigmond Moricz Circus [central Budapest] at the statue of Prince St Imre. Zoltan Hortobagyi reports:

[Hortobagyi] Gyoergy Klucsik, deputy secretary general of the association, recalled the events of the time in Egypt, Poland, and, of course, Hungary. He pointed out that in 1956, West Europe let the Hungarian freedom fight down. It is the same now: the West encouraged the Hungarians to change the regime, but it does not give any help. Political and economic power has been snatched by the suppressors of the 1956 revolution and their successors with the help of international financiers. Izabella Kiraly B., chairman of the Hungarian Interest Party, also confirmed this.

[Moderator] As of 1100, 300-400 protesters had gathered in Corvin Lane [central Budapest] at the call of the Hungarian Welfare Association. They are moving toward Szena Square led by Cochairman Andras Szabo. Attila Kert reports:

[Kert] Yesterday, Istvan Csurka [organizer of the antigovernment rally] betrayed and left the protesters as a spineless person, proving he is just a liberal, said Andras Szabo before young people waving the Welfare Association's red flags with cogs or the flags of the banned World National People's Rule Party with Arpad stripes [Hungarian fascist symbol] attached to them. There were also older people watching in the background. Szabo said there is foreign rule in the country, only now it is the dictatorship of banks and not tanks. Referring to the principle of sovereignty of the people, he called on the Hungarians to make the representatives of foreign rule disappear, and sweep them out of the parliament. [passage omitted]

Opposition Parties Speak

LD2310220595 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At a rally organized by the National Association of Political Prisoners [Pofosz], which was also attended by representatives of the opposition parties, Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] sharply attacked liberalism.

[Unidentified correspondent] In his introduction, the FKGP chairman promised that if they gain power, they will seek to have international organizations declare 23 October [anniversary of 1956 Hungarian revolution] to be a Day of World Freedom. [passage omitted]

The party chairman repeated his opinion that the parliamentary elections [due in 1998] are expected to be brought forward. He criticized particularly sharply those who follow liberal ideas, among them the press, which, in his view, supports the state. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] On the occasion of a holiday which represents national unity, the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], in the spirit of 1956, calls upon the citizens who are responsible for their homeland to do everything possible to establish broad social cooperation. This was said by KDNP chairman Gyoergy Giczy at the party's national commemoration ceremony held at [1956 Prime Minister] Imre Nagy's memorial plaque in Hodmezoevasarhely. [passage omitted]

Viktor Orban [chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party, Fidesz—MPP] has urged cooperation among the civic parties so that the disappointed country should not lose hope, but get a new start. In his festive speech in Papa, the Fidesz chairman criticized the government and also said that cooperation between different political forces can be necessary under certain circumstances:

[Begin Orban recording] Although freedom and democracy on their own are not solutions for the nation's problems, these are the only means for a solution. This is

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why today a revolution can only be organized against the legacy of the 1956 revolution. [end recording]

'Young Skinheads' Demonstrate, Voice Demands

LD2310225695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] This evening a crowd voicing extremist views held a demonstration in Budapest in front of the radio building. Attila Kert reports:

[Kert] The demonstrators, about 300-400 people, marched from the Corvin alley to the Szena Square, then to Bem Square, finally to the radio building. On their way they chanted antigovernment slogans, cursed Gyula Horn, Ivan Petoe, and Lajos Bokros. The members of the group, which consisted mainly of young skinheads dressed in black and their supporters, waved the Welfare Association's red flags bearing the symbol of a cog-wheel, and the Arpad-stripe flags of the banned World National People's Rule Party. On Margaret Bridge they burned a figure symbolizing Lajos Bokros. The speakers called for immediate elections and urged the removal of the government. Gyoergy Ekrem Kemal pronounced the participants in Bem Square a revolutionary committee and read out the sixteen clauses of their demands. Among these are the declaration of a state of emergency, the closure of the country's borders, the immediate suspension of state debt repayments, and the condemnation of the criminals of past years. In front of the radio building the participants demanded that their demands be broadcast. The participants of the demonstration called Istvan Csurka a liberal traitor several times because he did not continue the demonstration after yesterday's protest.

Kuncze Urges End to MSZP 'Differences'

AU2410082295 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Oct 95 p 12

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Gabor Kuncze by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "Confidence Can Be Regained"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Pinter] At what point are communications between society and the government?

[Kuncze] This government coalition came on the scene with the promise that it wishes to have continuous dialogue with society, to strive for an overall economic and social agreement, and to involve as many interested people in the preparatory processes as possible. Perhaps this is the area where the government coalition is least successful. Travelling in the country, I have been able to realize again and again that, generally, people can clearly see the size of the tasks waiting to be solved and that—mainly in the economy—certain steps have to be taken as soon as possible, regardless of who is in government. Society has witnessed the uncertainties, the zigzags, the internal wrangling, and the fight between the governmental partners, and has understandably become disillusioned. Public opinion was loud with such affairs, which diverted the attention from the real problems and the real tasks.

[Pinter] What can change the current situation?

[Kuncze] Disputes between the coalition partners have ceased, and I am convinced that they will not be renewed. This requires the government to work according to the planned schedule of action. I find it desirable for the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] internal differences of opinion to be ended as soon as possible and for the Socialists to again follow one direction. This, obviously, cannot be anything other than support for the government's accepted program and its implementation by those people who, in the MSZP's view, are capable of determined governmental action. This is a lot, and very urgent. When this is done, only then can it be attempted to restore the broken dialogue with society. Only then will the explanation about the motivations behind the necessary governmental actions be credible. If we manage to get through 1996, a rather difficult year in budgetary terms, then progress can slowly be started, which will ultimately prove the expectations of the government coalition and prove that society's trust in 1994 was not in vain.

[Pinter] From what else can society's confidence be strengthened, where are the reserves?

[Kuncze] No one has yet obtained the confidence lost by the government. According to public opinion polls, the number of uncertain people who have not yet chosen a political force is very high. I repeat: Rather than the government's actions, it was the way it acted, with uncertainty and an unability for dialogue that took away the confidence. Determined and successful governmental actions can still convince the uncertain people, and this can take away the chances of those who make irresponsible promises and pursue futile dreams.

[Pinter] Can the confidence be regained by the same people whose activities caused it to be lost in the first place?

[Kuncze] It can be done by the same parties. As for the persons, they can be the same if they are capable of performing united and determined teamwork.

[Pinter] What kind of expressions of the lost confidence are being organized in society?

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[Kuncze] The number of demonstrations is increasing, some people want to act explicitly against the government, and some people believe in the absolute power of strikes. It has to be accepted that everyone has the right to criticize the government's work. The same applies to the previous governments and will also apply in the future. However, a person, who for party or personal interest mobilizes masses against the economic rigor that is essential for the restoration of the country, accepts a huge responsibility. Everyone can demand more from the budget for themselves, but this will not produce a viable economy.

[Pinter] In your view, to what extent is the parliamentary opposition the government's partner in performing the tasks?

[Kuncze] It is not, at the moment. The parliamentary opposition keeps making demands that it could not meet itself in a governmental position, either. I find this to be rather dangerous political behavior. Another reason why the government needs determination and open dialogue is that an opposition that tries to create the idea that painful measures are not needed can only exist alongside an uncertain government. I know that it is not the opposition's job to support the government's work, however, from the viewpoint of democracy, it is a big mistake that, at the moment, no sign of willingness for cooperation on the most basic issues can be discovered. Nevertheless, we will not give up; we are ready to review the chances of joint work in a different spirit at any time.

[Pinter] To what extent does the parliamentary opposition's attitude limit the possibilities of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] as a party?

[Kuncze] Only on the surface, the insinuations against us are not important. A large part of the parliamentary opposition is aspiring to the position that is now filled in the center of the political palette by the SZDSZ. The opposition is bothered by the fact that we are here and they cannot get to this position. Due to this, they are forced to move politically to the right—although even this is not an explanation of why they make ultra left-wing empty promises in the economy. I am not in favor of tough replies. As a result of election results, a situation could arise in which the SZDSZ and some of our current parliamentary opponents would end up on the same side, in government. The parties will then have to work together. It is inadvisable to build walls that will be unscalable in the future. An increasing number of people are now trying to split the political palette into a right wing and a left wing. Accordingly, society is also increasingly torn apart. However, the SZDSZ continues to be against ideological answers and in favor of real answers, and the country will head, as before, toward the center, rather than toward the extremes. [passage omitted]

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Izetbegovic: Army Will Prevent Partition of Republic

AU2410121395 Paris AFP in English 0406 GMT 24 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington, Oct 23 (AFP) - Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic late Monday vowed to keep Bosnia a unified country and reiterated his rejection of any peace plan that would partition it.

Izetbegovic, speaking in New York in a CNN television interview, indicated he believed his country would emerge whole from the nearly four-year ethnic war.

Asked whether he thought Bosnia was involved in a "real" peace process or in a partition that rewards the aggressor, he replied, "I think there won't be any division or partition of Bosnia because our army will be the guarantee of that."

The Bosnian president, in New York for the United Nations 50th anniversary was accompanied by his daughter, Sabina, who occasionally interpreted for him.

Izetbegovic expressed no faith in the United Nations' ability to solve the conflict, and reserved confidence in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"I don't believe the United Nations can solve the problem due to their inefficiency. The UN are known as 'inefficient organization' and my nation has paid a very high price for that inefficiency."

He said he had "some measure" of confidence in NATO.

He also said that he has not decided whether he would like to stay in government once peace is achieved. "We should have really democratic elections, new elections. ... I will decide later whether I will take part."

Asked if he would like to have Britain more involved in the peace efforts, he replied, "I am not opposed to that idea to have British involved in the peace process."

He said he had been "very happy" with his talks two months ago with British Prime Minister John Major, who voiced his support of "a unified Sarajevo and a unified and single state of Bosnia."

Cease-Fire Implementation, Observations Noted

Muslim Commander: 'War Not Over'

LD2310124495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1206 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 23 (TANJUG) — The commander of the Muslim 5th Army Corps, Gen. Atif Dudakovic, said at a military review in Sanski Most, western Bosnia, that war in those territories was not over and that it would not end so easily.

Muslim radio in Sarajevo quoted on Monday Dudakovic as saying that it was a priority to reinforce the Muslim army and the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, within its internationally-recognized borders.

Dudakovic, whose corps seized the Serb-town of Sanski Most one day after a ceasefire in Bosnia came into effect on October 12, threatened in the past that he would not stop the advance of his forces until the fall of Banja Luka, the largest city in Republika Srpska, the Bosnian Serb state.

Dudakovic said that there was no Bosnia without the River Drina, the Sava river valley and, as he said, 'our Banja Luka'.

UN Says Cease-Fire Holding

AU2310125695 Paris AFP in English 1241 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 23 (AFP) — Guns have finally fallen silent across Bosnia, with Bosnian Governnment, Croat and Serb commanders holding meetings near what had been the front lines, the United Nations said Monday [23 October].

"It is the 13th day of ceasefire and I am pleased to inform you that the ceasefire holds well," said UN spokesman Yuriy Chizhik.

Neither the Bosnian Government nor Bosnian Serb media reported fighting early Monday.

There was no shelling or fighting detected on the front lines east of Bihac, where the worst of the ceasefire violations occurred after battles were to have stopped on October 12, said UN military spokesman Ludo Hupperts.

"The total situation remained calm as the warring factions become more and more involved in the regional commission meetings to clarify the confrontation line(s)," he said.

A meeting was set for Monday on the road between government-held Sanski Most and Prijedor, which is held by Bosnian Serbs, said Hupperts. It will be the second for local commanders.

In the northeast, front line commanders held a "cordial meeting" in the town of Memici on Sunday, said Hupperts.

The meetings, which are attended by UN officials, are to agree on confrontation lines, which will become "cease-fire lines" and get the sides to allow UN monitoring to ensure that the ceasefire is respected, and assign blame if it is not.

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An important aspect is establishing contact between the commanders of the opposing sides so that accidental firing does not turn into combat because of a lack of communication.

'Seem' to be Observing Cease-Fire

LD2310164895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1244 GMT 23 Oct 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bileca/Doboj, Oct. 23 (TANJUG) — The local Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) command in Bileca said on Monday that no truce violations had been reported on the Herzegovina front since Sunday evening.

The situation on the Trebinje front and on Mt Treskavica plateau south of Sarajevo was quiet on Monday following numerous provocations by Croatian and Muslim troops throughout last week.

The BSA command said on Sunday there was a lull on all frontlines in Bosnia.

The warring sides seem to be observing the ceasefire agreement that took effect on October 12.

BSA sources said on Monday that Serbs and Muslims had exchanged prisoners, both civilians and soldiers, near Gradacac on the Trebava River east of Doboj.

The Muslim side reneged on the agreement reached with the Serb side and did not exchange the bodies of six Serb soldiers killed in the Muslim offensive on Mt Ozren south of Doboj, the sources said.

Serbs Violate Cease-Fire

AU2310192695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Oct 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Several 60 and 82 mm mortar rounds have been fired on the defense lines in Sanski Most and Bosanska Krupa. A few infantry breakthroughs were also attempted, and throughout this time they fired antiaircraft arms. The settlements deep in free territory were also shelled sporadically.

Our defenders did not respond to the above aggressor's attacks and strictly honored the agreed cease-fire.

'Serbs Will Not Leave'

AU2410104095 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Goran Hadzic, member of the Council of the Srem-Baranja District, stated today that the Serbs will not leave the area, even if their lives were at stake. Before resuming today's talks with the Croatians in Osijek, Hadzic said that Croatia does not have valid arguments for aggression, but the buildup of its professional brigade is obviously aimed at annulling all results of the talks so far. It is clear that here, too, they will try to put as much pressure on the Serbs as possible to conquer that territory, and if they fail to do that they will resort to war, said Hadzic.

FRY's Milutinovic Views Talks With UK's Rifkind

AU2310215595 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a report from London on the news conference held by Milan Milutinovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This is how Minister Milutinovic assessed the talks he had with his host, British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind.

[Begin Milutinovic recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] We had very good and substantial talks, unbelievably good. We are very close in our judgment, the British Government and we, and we are very close in assessments and ideas about the current situation.

Of course, Mr. Rifkind has a right to be skeptical, and you also know why. There is a tendency to carry out a revision of the Geneva principles and the New York Agreement. You know very well about Mr. Izetbegovic's 21 points. Following the New York and Geneva conferences, he now invented 21 points with which he will come to the conference. Therefore, such predictions or demands and the like are taking place immediately before the conference. This is a very clear revision of all that has been done.

Of course, there are some other ideas about the peace agreement, the so-called encyclopedia that would be 100 pages long or the like. Nobody can accept that. We already have principles in the Geneva and New York agreements. Everything is clear there about constitutional arrangements, about two entities, about the territorial division. For us, the most important issue at the conference in Dayton, the United States, is maps. And nothing else. Therefore, we cannot see why it is necessary to have such a number of troops in the field if the peace is lasting and just and if we have a good solution regarding the maps. Why then would so many people be needed there? However, this is a different question. This is our business, albeit not a priority at the moment.

You can nevertheless see that the basic problem is that there are attempts and ideas of carrying out a revision of all the principles on which we worked very

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hard, about the cessation of hostilities, about the New York agreement. You know what was adopted about the Presidency, about two entities, about elections. We want them to be held as soon as possible. Therefore, first separate elections for the two entities and then on the entire territory of Bosnia, and so on.

Thus, we are very close in judgments with the British. To some extent, Mr. Rifkind is right in being skeptical. We are not. However, according to all information, we must double our efforts to come to an agreement. [end recording]

Discuss Bosnian Peace Process

LD2310165895 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1652 GMT 23 Oct 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, Oct. 23 (TANJUG) — Chief diplomats Milan Milutinovic of Yugoslavia and Malcolm Rifkind of Great Britain discussed here Monday the current situation in the former Yugoslavia, with accent on the current phase of the Bosnia-Herzegovina peace process.

Milutinovic is on a one-day official visit to Great Britain, accompanied by his assistant Zivadin Jovanovic.

A British Foreign Office spokesman said Rifkind and Milutinovic had exchanged views also on some new initiatives for the Bosnian peace process, but did not go into any details.

Rifkind offered a luncheon for the guests from Yugoslavia after the talks.

Milutinovic visited the Royal Institute for International Relations and then met with former European Union's mediator for the former Yugoslavia Lord Owen.

After the main talks with his host, British Foreign Secretary Rifkind, Milutinovic will meet with British minister of state for aid to other countries Baroness Chalker and Labour Party shadow cabinet official in charge of foreign affairs Joyce Queen.

The Yugoslav foreign minister will hold a news conference at the Yugoslav Embassy in London late in the afternoon Monday, which will mark the end of his visit.

Bosnian 'Serb Republic' Prepares for Peace Talks

'Full Text' of Platform

LD2310215695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 23 Oct (SRNA) — At its session today the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic adopted a political platform for the participation of a state delegation of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic in the peace talks on the former Bosnia-Herzegovina that are to be held on 31 October in the United States; the platform contains principles for a constitutional agreement and territorial demands.

Here is the full text of the platform, which contains eight points referring to the principles for a constitutional agreement and six referring to territorial priorities:

"Faced with unjust treatment by the international community in the resolution of the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serb Republic People's Assembly is compelled to accept the following political platform for the participation of the Serb Republic delegation in peace negotiations in the United States:

PRINCIPLES FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT

1. The Serb Republic and the Bosniak-Croat Federation form a union of the Serb Republic and the Bosniak-Croat Federation (alternatives: Union of Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alliance of Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Community of States of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alliance of States of Bosnia-Herzegovina).

2. The Serb Republic and the Bosniak-Croat Federation are completely equal.

3. Joint bodies of the union (presidency, assembly, constitutional court) are made up of delegations of the Serb Republic and the Bosniak-Croat Federation, on the proportionate representation principle, as set out in the New York agreement.

In making decisions on affairs within the competence of the union, delegations — members of the union — have the right to veto.

4. The following competences belong to the union: foreign policy — whose principles will be established on the basis of consent by the parliaments of the Serb Republic and the Bosniak-Croat Federation; and those competences that the parliaments of the union members temporarily transfer to the union bodies.

The Serb Republic and the Bosniak-Croat Federation may, within their competences, maintain international relations, establish their own representation offices, join international organizations, and conclude international treaties.

All other issues will be within the independent jurisdiction of the union members.

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5. The legislature of the union members will secure free and democratic elections for the state bodies of the union members.

Newly-elected state bodies of the Serb Republic and the Bosniak-Croat Federation will delegate their delegations to the joint bodies of the union.

6. The Serb Republic has the right to conduct confederal relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that will follow the pattern that has already been envisaged for the confederation of Croatia and the Bosniak-Croatian Federation under the Washington agreement.

7. After a period of one year from the day of the peace agreement each member may hold a referendum on its further membership in the union.

8. Multinational peacekeeping forces in the union can be deployed in parts of the territory of the Serb Republic (along the border with the Bosniak-Croat Federation) only on the basis of approval from the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic.

TERRITORIAL PRIORITIES

1. Compactness and viability of the territories of the Serb Republic (natural and defensible borders, distribution of economic resources, infrastructure, and communications).

2. The north border, the Sava, and the width of 20 kilometers of territories linking the west and the east part of the Serb Republic along the narrowest stretch between Brcko and Samac.

3. While constituting the maps, the percentage of ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina that is to be allocated to the Serb Republic must primarily include traditionally Serb ethnic areas.

In addition to the principles listed above, for reasons of the Serb Republic's survival, in the percentages of ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina that will belong to the Serb Republic, a ratio of percentages of territory west of Brcko and east of Brcko should be achieved that approximately resembles the situation at the time when the Geneva principles were signed, i.e. prior to the NATO bombardment.

Podgrmec [area around Mt. Grmec] and Potkozarje [around Mt. Kozara], outlined by the Una River and the Unac river-basin.

4. Territorial linkage between Serb Sarajevo and the territory of the Serb Republic.

5. Access to the sea.

6. Border on the Neretva."

Demand Right To FRY Confederation

AU2310150395 Paris AFP in English 1456 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bijeljina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Oct 23 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb deputies approved a list of proposals Monday [23 October] to take to U.S.-brokered peace talks later this month, including a right to confederate with rump Yugoslavia, SRNA news agency said.

The document lays down "principles for a constitutional accord" between the self-styled Serb Republic in Bosnia and a Moslem Croat federation, SRNA added, with the prospect of a future referendum to decide their status.

Parliament speaker Momcilo Krajisnik said the package adopted by deputies had been "harmonised" with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and would be the basis for further talks with Belgrade.

Deputies meeting in this northeastern Bosnian town also named a new prime minister and selected three envoys to the peace talks in Ohio, United States, before drawing their session to a close.

The document envisages a union between the Serb Republic and a Moslem Croat federation with parity to both sides on crucial bodies such as the presidency, parliament and constitutional court, and a right of veto.

Foreign policy would be directed by the union which would be able to approve international accords and belong to various organisations, but both parliaments could also decide to give the union jurisdiction in other matters as well.

The union would ensure free elections in either member state, and those who were elected would then designate representatives on the various bodies within the wider union.

The Serb Republic would have a right to confederate with federal Yugoslavia and the Moslem Croat federation with Croatia.

A year after a peace accord is finalised between the two sides, each state would be able to organise a referendum on whether to stay within the union.

Finally, any multinational force sent in to police an accord would only be allowed into the Serb Republic with the express approval of its parliament.

Another document they approved demanded a widening of the crucial Posavina corridor linking Serb-held territory in eastern and western Bosnia and access to the Adriatic Sea.

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Meanwhile deputies also chose three envoys to send to the peace talks from October 31 which are aimed at firming up the tentative ceasefire in Bosnia.

The three are Krajisnik, vice-president Nikola Koljevic and foreign minister Aleksa Buha. They will be part of the federal Yugoslav delegation.

In a separate move, Banja Luka Mayor Rajko Kasagic was appointed as prime minister to replace Dusan Kozic, who resigned a week ago after he was blamed for a wave of military and political setbacks.

Kasagic, whose Banja Luka fiefdowm is the largest Serb-held city in Bosnia, was nominated by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic whose party dominates parliament.

Deputy Praises Milosevic Role

AU2310180095 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 95

[Interview with Miodrag Dodik, chairman of the club of independent deputies of the "Assembly of the Serb Republic," by Vojislav Kajganic on 23 October; place not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kajganic] How did the session of the Serb Republic [RS] Assembly in Bijeljina go yesterday?

[Dodik] The meeting in Banja Luka [word indistinct] significant issues that are absolutely essential for the RS in the political sense, and that assembly's stand was to send an expanded delegation that included a considerable number of deputies of the ruling party, the SDS [Serb Democratic Party], to President Milosevic with a view toward receiving information about the overall activities that are being made on the peace plan. Last night, this delegation reported to the rest of the Assembly on the talks held in Belgrade. One gets an impression that President Milosevic's role in creating an overall peace solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina is irreplaceable.

[Words indistinct] tensions that used to appear before in the sense of disagreements seem to have been solved considerably through this meeting with President Milosevic, and this certainly provides hope that the Serb side will be more unified in its approach to the overall crisis for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The debate at the Assembly session is directed toward offering support for President Milosevic in his participation at the U.S. talks. I think that it will be concluded this afternoon with exactly such support as is indispensable for President Milosevic to be able [word indistinct] all activities, to achieve as suitable a peace solution for Bosnia as possible.

[Kajganic] To what extent were the requirements met for electing a prime minister, a change of government, and an investigation of the blame for the great amount of territory lost in western Bosnia?

[Dodik] We have certainly requested that many questions other than those you have mentioned should be solved at the Assembly. We are of the opinion that, without sorting this out and establishing stands on these issues, there will be no change in the political situation and political atmosphere in the RS. The method used by the ruling party has led to minimizing these requirements. Moreover, at the SDS deputy club meeting in Banja Luka, all these requirements were pushed aside and those people have somehow solved the situation cosmetically [words indistinct]. However, at the Assembly session yesterday, all these requirements were resumed and one of the essential requirements is for the Assembly to decide on constitutional amendments that should define Banja Luka [words indistinct] as the capital city of the RS. We consider this to be a very important political issue and insist on it being put back on the Assembly agenda. The commission's opinion is expected, that is, the activity on that level has opened. What is now very important is that the Assembly should endorse a conclusion that we have proposed, which is that, apart from all those elements shown to date — on its continuity, (?quality), and the like — the overall territorial composition of the RS should, above all, be distributed in such a way that it should include 60 percent of that territory west of Brcko. This has somehow already been accepted in the Contact Group peace plan and, in the sense of the composition of this territory, it has already been established that 60 percent should belong to the Banja Luka region.

It is a fact that we have lost a considerable part of this territory. However, we believe that President Milosevic's negotiatory capability will help with the return of some part of this territory to us as an integral territory of the Serb people, because the political victory at the elections held in Bosnia recently was in fact achieved by the very people from these regions.

Regarding our request for General Mladic to appear, it has not been met and he did not appear at the assembly session last night. The military structure claimed that they had not received an invitation to yesterday's assembly session. However, we are of the opinion that without sorting out these relations, there will really be no [words indistinct] on that plane.

[Kajganic] (?We would like) to finally reach the threshold of peace.

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[Dodik] I am already convinced that peace is here and that, really thanks to President Milosevic, we have managed to achieve a situation in which we are going to be able to preserve through peace what we completed [zaokruziti] in a way during the previous period, in the armed struggle and civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I think that this [word indistinct] truce will turn into a lasting peace that will make it possible for the people in the RS and the other peoples in the region to turn to life and to permanently deter war as a means of solving conflicts and problems between nations and peoples, to hinder it permanently and prevent it from taking place (?here). I expect that this peace agreement will come very soon and that the war will stop.

Position 'in Harmony With' FRY

LD2310182695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bijeljina, 23 Oct (SRNA) — Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, cautioned today in Bijeljina that the delegation of the Serb Republic at the negotiations in the United States has to persist in demanding that traditionally Serb ethnic areas be included in the percentage of demarcation with the Muslim-Croat federation.

"We have to take account of the fact that the percentage of the eastern and the western part of the Serb Republic should remain approximately identical to the situation prior to the NATO bombardment," he added, noting that the Muslims and Croats committed aggression against the Serb Republic with the assistance of the Western military alliance and the Rapid Reaction Force and occupied over 12 municipalities.

Krajisnik said that the platform for the 31 October negotiations, adopted by the parliament in Bijeljina, is by and large in harmony with the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. [passage omitted]

Kasagic Appointed Prime Minister

AU2410103995 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Oct 95

[Report by Vlado Trisic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The 55th regular session of the Serb Republic [RS] National Assembly held in Bijeljina was adjourned today a little after 1400 hours [1300 GMT]. Speaking about legal and personnel changes, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic proposed Rajko Kasagic, who has so far acted as president of the Banja Luka Municipal Assembly Executive Committee, as new prime minister designate, which was ratified by the assembly. President Karadzic then proposed a delegation to travel to Ohio in the United States to attend the talks scheduled for 31 October. Furthermore, it was accepted that the Serb Republic delegation be composed of Vice President Nikola Koljevic, Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik, and Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha. It was agreed that a team of experts consisting of Vladimir Lukic, Radomir Lukic, Gaso Mijanovic, and Jovan Zametica also attend the Ohio talks. As there is very little time left to make preparations for peace talks, President Karadzic left the session this afternoon to meet with Serb intellectuals from Belgrade Dobrica Cosic, Slavko Lonac, Ljubomir Tadic, and poets Rajko Petrova Noga and Gojko Djoga.

Urges Strengthened Army

LD2310164595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 23 Oct (SRNA) — Rajko Kasagic, prime minister-designate of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, told SRNA today that the new government of the republic will focus its work on strengthening defensive capabilities and the economic recovery of the country after the announced lifting of the blockade on the river Drina.

"Government members must be people willing to devote themselves completely to its work," Kasagic told SRNA in Bijeljina, in his first public appearance as prime minister-designate of the Serb Republic.

According to Kasagic, members of the government must be tolerant but prepared to make radical decisions and replace those who have identified themselves with certain institutions.

"The defensive forces must be strengthened even though we are near peace. They must become mobile and prepared to fulfill all tasks assigned to them," Kasagic said, and added that "just 25 percent of the current number of soldiers are enough to protect the borders of the Serb Republic."

He said that according to all indications, the blockade on the river Drina will be lifted soon and this will solve many economic problems.

However, the government has to enable businessmen to work efficiently without being hindered by unnecessary paperwork so that they can turn to economic development and to the process of privatization," Kasagic said in conclusion.

Croat Envoy Describes Positions for Madrid Talks

LD2310183595 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A delegation of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, which is to take part in

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a meeting in Madrid of friends of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina on further measures for the establishment of the federation, has left for Madrid. The delegation includes Kresimir Zubak, president of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Jadranko Prlic, the prime minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and Deputy Prime Minister of the Federation; and Mijo Brajkovic, mayor of Western Mostar.

Our reporter Ivan Kristic has asked Ivan Bender, member of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and president of the Council of Deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, what positions our delegation is going to advocate:

[Begin recording] [Kristic] Mr. Bender, what positions is the Croat delegation going to advocate at the meeting beginning in Madrid tomorrow?

[Bender] Our positions were presented long ago and are well known. Our representatives will attend the meeting advocating the positions we have adopted in relevant institutions of the Croatian Democratic Union and in the institutions of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

[Kristic] As of late, our partners, the Bosniak side, have been attempting, in a somewhat hasty way, to present their stands as the only ones that are correct. They are a little exclusive — it has to be as they say, otherwise they are threatening. How should one react in such a situation?

[Bender] Croats have presented their stands, they are very clear. We also have people to advocate them, and can implement everything that we have agreed upon. I think that the Muslim side is talking futile stories. The Croat positions are well known; we are in favor of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as agreed upon in Washington and in accordance with what the constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina says. The Croat delegation will have to present this position, and there is no giving up on it.

With regard to the set-up of the Federation, we have agreed that it should be set up as a community of two equal nations. The Muslims are in no way more interested in the Federation than we are, nor can they impose their own will.

With regard to Mostar, our position is clear — Mostar will be set up according to our agreement contained in the memorandum on Mostar — it will be organized as we agree [as heard]. The Croat side believes that it has to be made up of at least two municipalities. When it comes to freedom of movement, we are in favor of it, but once conditions for it have been secured. For the time being, conditions do not exist for uncontrolled passage from one side to the other. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Karadzic Inspects Troops of 'War Criminal' Arkan

AU2310214095 Paris AFP in English 2107 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bijeljina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Oct 23 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Monday [23 October] inspected troops led by Arkan, an ultra-nationalist Serb regarded by the United States as a war criminal.

The inspection took place at Bijeljina, in northeast Bosnia. Arkan's militia, known as the Tigers, have been blamed for violent crimes against Croats and Moslems in northwest Bosnia in recent weeks.

Arkan, whose real name is Zeljko Raznatovic, said Saturday that this unit of around 300 men — which he claims to be the last of his troops still in Bosnia — would leave the following day for eastern Slavonia, a Serb-held region of Croatia that the Zagreb government has vowed to take back.

But its departure was delayed for "technical reasons", a Bosnian Serb source said.

Addressing several hundred people at a ceremony in Bijeljina, Karadzic, who has himself been indicted as a war criminal by a UN tribunal, said the Tigers would always be welcome guests in Bosnian Serb territory.

"We will return if necessary, at your request, to defend Serb homes, lands and the Orthodox religion," Arkan replied.

The U.S. State Department has demanded that Arkan withdraw all his troops from Bosnia. U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke on Thursday asked Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to "put an end to the activities" of Arkan's men, believed to be responsible for atrocities in northwest Bosnia.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, for its part, has denounced the "murders, expulsions, evictions and other persecutions" of Croats and Moslems in northern Bosnia, atrocities blamed on Arkan's militia and other Serb units.

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Belgrade Ordered Arkan's Pullout

AU2410105395 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 95 p 3

[Report by "N.T., D.P.": "Belgrade Ordered Withdrawal of Serb Volunteer Guard?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka — Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan said at a news conference in Prijedor that the Serb Volunteer Guard had been withdrawn to eastern Slavonia following a month of fighting in western Bosnia.

"One battalion remains, but it, too, will most likely be sent to the Slavonia region," Arkan said.

Although Arkan claims that the reason for the withdrawal is the likely attack by the Croatian Army on eastern Slavonia, NASA BORBA has learnt from sources in the Serb Republic Army that the order arrived from Belgrade, after the talks between Milosevic and the representatives of the international community. The withdrawal of the guard is supposed to be a signal that the cease-fire will be observed.

The rift between the military and the political leadership of the Serb Republic can be easily detected in the Banja Luka region. We have found out that the Serb Republic Army is behind Radio Krajina, a station that is highly unwelcome by Pale due to its open and critical program.

The assessment heard in the military circles suggests that the tensions with the Serb Republic political leadership are not likely to ease.

Gen. Morillon Blames Karadzic, Mladic, Tudjman

AU2410120895 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Oct 95 p 7

[Interview with French General Phillipe Morillon, former commander of the UN Protection Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Balazs Pocs and Pal Lederer in Budapest; date not given: "Those Responsible for the Conflict Should Leave the Stage"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [NEPSZABADSAG] Why did it take so long for the international community to decide to take the decisive step? Why did Europe fail to take the step that the United States finally did?

[Morillon] Europe simply did not exist, although it has developed a lot since then. Thus, we first had to create Europe. Therefore, I welcome the current NATO exercise in Hungary, which, although not very important militarily, is an important step forward politically. At the time, Europe was still helpless; it may be less so today. Paris and London jointly created the Rapid Reaction Force that was often criticized and ridiculed, but proved to be efficient. Of course, we needed the United States, the leading power in the world, to clarify its position. For a long time, it seemed that the Americans were morally supporting the Bosnians, but did not want to get involved in the conflict. The other reason for the delay was that, for a long time, the international community thought that they would be able to solve the Yugoslav crisis in the same way as the Cyprus crisis. It took a long time for UN headquarters to realize that responding to provocations and attacks does not mean that we take a position in the conflict. We can stay neutral, while we exercise justified self-defense. We feared that we might get involved in the crisis if we attacked one of the sides and we also feared that the only solution was to engage the Serbs militarily, and no one wanted that. We must neutralize the extremist leaders by all means and we must help the population itself get rid of the bad leaders.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Could the Partnership for Peace program have avoided the conflict if it had existed in 1990?

[Morillon] Yes, probably. There have been mistakes in dealing with the crisis, like the hasty recognition of the new independent republics of the former Yugoslavia. This is clear in the case of Bosnia. However, it is never too late to correct mistakes.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What chances do you see for a lasting peace here now?

[Morillon] Reconciliation is the basic condition for a lasting peace. The essential thing is that those responsible for the conflict, namely Mate Boban [former leader of rebel Bosnian Croats], Tudjman, Karadzic, and of course Mladic, should depart or should be neutralized. Izetbegovic must also understand the situation. The population has always desired to return to the rich life that they lived before the war. Elections might bring to power the majority, who are in favor of reconciliation. I am not sure that this can be carried out quickly because we must first break the vicious circle of violence and we must calm the population. The presence of a rather large international force will definitely play an important role in this. It will take years for the people driven away in this war to be able to return home. If we fail to achieve this, a Gaza-type situation might emerge in the heart of Europe, with several hundred thousand homeless people dreaming from generation to generation to recapture the land of their forefathers.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In addition to time, reconciliation is also a matter of money. In your view, will the developed world be capable of giving peace a chance by being generous?

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[Morillon] You hit the essence of things with this question. This is the great disappointment of the nations living in this region. When I spoke with Havel [Czech president], he told me that they expected a big wind from the West that would sweep the bad things away. Instead, the West keeps speaking of milk quotas and customs tariffs. The West should become generous not only in Europe, but also in Africa and, although everyone says this, very few reach the point where they actually do something. [passage omitted]

Army Intelligence Chief Views Military Goals

AU2310095695 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 95 p 12

[Interview with Brigadier General Mustafa Hajrulahovic, member of the Head Staff and head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Intelligence Service, by Zeljko Garmaz on 15 October; place not given: "Not Even the Yugoslav Army Will Prevent Us From Entering Gorazde"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mustafa Hajrulahovic-Talijan, brigadier general in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and member of the Head Staff, is certainly one of the most competent people to talk about the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. After all, his role as head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Intelligence Service suggests information straight from the horse's mouth. In 1991, Mustafa Hajrulahovic left the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], in which he was the commander of a sabotage unit in Divulje, and joined the Patriotic League of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the beginning of the war, he became the commander of the defense of Sarajevo, which later became the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Among the inhabitants of Sarajevo and the Croatian population, Mustafa Hajrulahovic is perhaps the most popular high-ranking officer in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. However, more about that can be heard from his close friend from his Sarajevo days, General Ante Roso [former head of the Croatian Defense Council, HVO]....

We spoke with General Hajrulahovic on Sunday, 15 October, after he had been up all night, liaising with the 5th Corps Command, which had managed to withstand a strong counterattack by Chetnik units and thus save Sanski Most....

[Hajrulahovic] At the meeting at Sarajevo airport on Saturday, attended by representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the HVO, and the aggressor, an agreement was reached on a cease-fire on all the fronts in Bosnia-Herzegovina; we had to issue the authoritative order to suspend offensive actions. After that meeting, after we had really halted all military action, the Chetniks started a fierce offensive on Bosanska Krupa, Bosanska Otoka, and Sanski Most, where we suffered numerous victims among the civilian population: more than 15 killed and 50 wounded! So, on the one hand, at such meetings they seriously insist on the cease-fire throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, on the other hand, they initiate conflicts of lesser intensity, inflicting numerous casualties on civilians....

[Garmaz] But, fighting would by no means suit the Serbs at this moment. Not even the Serb media can hide the disintegration that has begun there! So who is fighting on the Serb side?

[Hajrulahovic] In the last few days, the "corridor" [in Posavina, connecting Serb-occupied territories in western Bosnia-Herzegovina with Serbia proper] has been used only in one direction. Equipment and technical means, and volunteers from Serbia are being mobilized and sent to northwestern Bosnia. Shock troops from other corps are being given the initiative there, the Eastern Herzegovina Corps, the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, etc., to restore lost morale through offensive actions and to create the preconditions for a future, more effective offensive. The Chetniks do not want to reconcile themselves to the loss of territories and it is certain that they will continue their military action to improve their territorial, and thus also their political, position.

Manjaca Under Control

[Garmaz] How much territory is now under the control of Federation forces?

[Hajrulahovic] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO now control 52.6 percent of the entire territory of Bosnia- Herzegovina....

[Garmaz] In that do you also include the newly liberated positions around Sanski Most, Mrkonjic Grad, and Mt. Treskavica?

[Hajrulahovic] Yes.

[Garmaz] Who controls Manjaca?

[Hajrulahovic] Manjaca is in the municipality of Banja Luka, which we have deeply penetrated with our troops. As for Manjaca, it must be pointed out that Manjaca is a strategic objective for Banja Luka: Whoever has Manjaca also has Banja Luka.

With its entire configuration Manjaca dominates the Banja Luka region. It is a large feature, which stretches from the Vrbas River at one end and Banja Luka itself at the other; local roads to Banja Luka also lead via Manjaca....

[Garmaz] At which point are your positions closest to Banja Luka?

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[Hajrulahovic] Banja Luka is 32 km away from Cemernica, the location of Tisovac in the Bocac region, where HVO forces are positioned; and that is within the scope of long-range artillery.

[Garmaz] Unlike the "Maestral" operation [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and HVO operation to liberate Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc areas], this time nothing could be heard about any conflicts between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Was the operation really coordinated?

[Hajrulahovic] Hitherto all operations had been parallel: They were not even joint actions, never mind unified ones. This time each of the sides knew its direction, and the joint action, the place and the time of the advance were precisely determined.

[Garmaz] What is the situation around Prijedor like? Serb news is already talking about the evacuation of the civilian population, around 40,000 people, from the town....

[Hajrulahovic] Our units are 8 km from Prijedor. On the way from Sanski Most to Prijedor, our positions are in Pejici and Ribnjak, from where communications between Prijedor and Banja Luka, via Ivanjska, are dominated. Thanks to our excellent positions on the Sana River and Manjaca, our positions are such that we can move towards Prijedor and Omarska very fast and then on toward Banja Luka with hardly any problems.

[Garmaz] How much of the lost territory have the Serbs managed to win back in their counterattack?

[Hajrulahovic] There was no classical counterattack from their side. They moved the focus of action to Kljuc, intending to recapture it, cut the Bihac-Jajce line, and come to the route to Bosanski Petrovac, through which they would have acquired some of the prerequisites for the later recapture of the lost territories of Drvar, Glamoc, etc. The Serbs have a very strong first squadron, which consists of shock troops from the 1st and 2d Krajina Corps, strengthened by similar units from other corps, and some regular units of the "Yugoslav" Army, which has come to Bosnia-Herzegovina with complete rocket-artillery divisions. In concrete terms, all the weapons that the former JNA possesses at this moment have been used in the battle of Kljuc: from air power to poisonous gas. It was hard, but they did not succeed.

[Garmaz] The speed with which the Serbs lost territory is simply unbelievable. What is the reason for such a situation on the ground? Were the Serbs fortified at all, do they have any organized defense?

[Hajrulahovic] They did not expect us to start a counteroffensive after their offensive actions. By the quality of our maneuvers, we created the preconditions for our second squadron to enter the battle, which put them in an unfavorable position, because they had no arranged defense systems behind them. Thus we achieved a situation in which we were practically chasing them before us.

[Garmaz] In western Bosnia, Division General Atif Dudakovic has already gained great charisma among the Bosniak people. How are his military abilities estimated by the Head Staff?

[Hajrulahovic] I believe that he has proven himself capable and skilled, that he possesses both soldierly and human qualities that have created exactly what you said: charisma. Thanks to the good motivation of the soldiers and the good material basis, he has managed to adapt himself to the new situation and proved that he truly is a man who knows how to conduct an operation in an authoritative and professional way.

To Posavina!

[Garmaz] In view of the events in western Bosnia, the battles on Mt. Treskavica have been overshadowed. It is not well known that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army now controls the whole of Mt. Treskavica, is it?

[Hajrulahovic] Treskavica is strategically important for eastern Bosnia. By taking the Treskavica Plateau we have effectively reached the Sarajevo-Foca route. That is the area that stretches from Mt. Igman to Dobro Polje.

[Garmaz] How far is the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army from Trnovo and the Rogoj mountain pass?

[Hajrulahovic] We are right above Trnovo and Rogoj, just as we are right above Kalinovik! Treskavica is the precondition for the introduction of new forces and the conducting of offensive action towards Gorazde.

[Garmaz] How far away is Gorazde now?

[Hajrulahovic] Around 40 km, via the mountain road across Rogoj and Kacelj.

[Garmaz] What is the significance of the liberation of Glavaticevo, near Konjic?

[Hajrulahovic] Glavaticevo is in the valley of the Neretva River, so we now control the entire Neretva, from its very source. By taking Glavaticevo, we neutralized any possible Chetnik approach to Konjic or Ivan-Sedlo and created the preconditions for offensive actions towards Lake Boracko and eastern Herzegovina.

[Garmaz] Can you comment on the statement of General Dudakovic that "the cease-fire agreement can be

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canceled?" That is, how realistic are the chances of the cease-fire being maintained?

[Hajrulahovic] The Chetniks cannot reconcile themselves to not so much the quantity of the lost territories, but rather their quality and some very important features in military terms. For the current political and military leadership of the Bosnian Serbs, peace means disaster. As for us, attack is the best form of defense! So, let them try!

[Garmaz] If a cease-fire really is established, how long do you estimate that it will last?

[Hajrulahovic] We are talking about Bosnia-Herzegovina as an internationally recognized state, which is the basis for the action of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. And to forget eastern Bosnia, Posavina, etc.: That we cannot do!

Analysis of Possible Battle for Banja Luka

AU2210212395 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 95 pp 10-11

[Article by Emil Vidusic: "Serbs Are Losing Banja Luka in the Clinch of the Croatian and Bosniak Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since the Serbs have irrevocably lost around ten towns in western and northwestern Bosnia, will Banja Luka finally fall as well, "in a whisper" — as is often said about ancient times, when Bosnia fell before Turkish hordes — or will Banja Luka "be a new Stalingrad," which will defend the remaining part of the so-called Serb Republic, "if it is attacked by Bosnian and Croatian forces," as its "mayor" Predrag Radic said recently?

If one concentrates all one's attention on the military situation around Banja Luka, regardless of the momentary cease-fire which is, except for the northwestern part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, more or less obeyed, then the answer is unquestionable. If diplomacy does not find the key to a just, peaceful solution, the operation for the most important Serb military stronghold in Bosnia-Herzegovina could really become the greatest military action of the warring parties since the beginning of the aggression on these territories up to this day.

According to the number of soldiers engaged on both sides, the quantities of military equipment used, the exchange of attacks and counterattacks, the scope of the operation, and its rhythm — the coming battle for Banja Luka, in case one does come, will certainly surpass the Bosniak military campaign for the deblocking of Sarajevo, which was much talked about and loudly announced, and then it failed.

These days when, through the approach of the Federation forces, the temperature in Banja Luka is getting hotter and hotter despite colder days, it can be seen that the feathers of the "Serb Republic Army" were not only plucked by the "Summer 95" and "Maestral" operations, but that it also suffers from a fatal internal weakness of the military system. When the delegates in the "parliament" demanded nothing less than the removal of General Milan Gvero, deputy of the even more notorious General Mladic, then the removal of General Grujo Boric, commander of the 2d Krajina Corps — the corps which has suffered most, the seat of which was Drvar — also, when they demanded the removal of two other generals, that was a sign that the command control has loosened, so that the belief that the leading general (Mladic) will save the sinking ship is actually hopeless.

It is needless to explain the military importance of Banja Luka. The pictures of the numerous troops amassing around the city confirm the fact that its importance has not become any less today. On the two sides, six, maybe even seven, armies will fight for the wider surroundings of Banja Luka. There will be the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], and the Croatian Army on one side, and the "Serb Republic Army," crushed remains of Martic's "Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina," and "Arkan's men" on the other side. If parts of the armored mechanized units and aviation of the Yugoslav Army get involved, the fight of the seven samurai for Banja Luka could really be unsparing. Because the one who finally rules over Banja Luka will also supervise northern Bosnia, as well as the soft Croatian underbelly along the Sava River.

Mladic's Strategy

Since there is still no cease-fire in northwestern Bosnia, moreover, there is exchange of heavy artillery fire combined with attacks of infantry and armored formations from both sides, such a situation is reason enough for a careful consideration of the military option for the solution of the issue of the Banja Luka pocket.

By the breakthrough in the southwestern direction Jajce-Mrkonjic Grad-Kljuc-Sanski Most, the wider defense zone of Banja Luka was erased. What remains to be relied upon is only Prijedor. In order to defend Banja Luka, and, with its defense, also northern Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serb generals led by Ratko Mladic have two strategies left: a counterattack on Sanski Most, which is under the control of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and its commander, Division General Atif Dudakovic, or the so-called fateful defense of Banja Luka.

Bosnian Serbs have no alternatives for a counteroffensive in a different direction, for example in the direction

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of Mrkonjic Grad — namely, Mrkonjic Grad is controlled by Croatian forces, much stronger than the 5th Corps in Sanski Most. Since the joint forces of the Federation have reached the lines only several kilometers away from Prijedor, 12 km away from the notorious Serb concentration camp of Omarska, and since they have reached the slopes of Manjaca about 25 km away from Banja Luka, from where they can endanger the Mahovljane airport with their artillery, it is most probable that General Mladic will accept the combined strategy of smaller simultaneous counterattacks in various directions, and the strongest possible defense of Banja Luka.

Even if, with a huge risk, he introduced his air force in the operation, or if he again organized terrorist attacks on Croatian cities with multiple rocket launchers or "Luna" missiles, none of these strategies guarantees success any longer. Moreover, they both would prolong the agony of the 1st Krajina Corps. A maximum of 15,000 armed men, armored mechanized maneuver forces and artillery with rockets, and around 10 functioning military aircraft (both airplanes and helicopters) on the runways in Mahovljani and Zaluzani, are not enough before the more numerous, dominant, and in the operational-tactical position better distributed Federation forces.

If last week's operation of the joint forces, called "the southern move," is transformed into a new military action, then it has to be supposed that an even greater number of troops and even more military equipment will take part in it. If the troops consist of 70,000 soldiers and around 100 tanks, and artillery pieces and mortars of all calibers, then the joint forces will achieve the supremacy of 4:1 against all Serb military forces concentrated around Banja Luka. If we add some indications which cannot be measured, like, for example, the skillfulness of soldiers, technical state of the weapons, and so on, then it is easy to understand the worries of the Banja Luka "mayor" Radic. Banja Luka is the "last fortress of Serb defense," the city is (still) rather organized for a longer defense, and the joint forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and Croatian forces cannot expect to meet any surprises in the new operation. The joint forces could change this traditional principle for a strong and long-lasting preparation for the movement of land troops from several directions, in order to neutralize the "Serb Republic Army" at the very beginning, and to stretch its remaining forces along the entire front, thus weakening its defense.

A Stalingrad That Cannot Be Defended

With several tactical directions on a difficult terrain, the coalition forces, after "softening" the most exposed defense positions of the Serbs, could start moving in the direction of Banja Luka from three operational directions. The 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would advance from the Sanski Most-Prijedor direction, Croatian forces from Manjaca would mainly move along the Vrbas River towards Banja Luka, and the 7th Corps of Bosniaks would attack from the Travnik-Skender Vakuf-Kotor Varos-Banja Luka line. The "Serb Republic Army" has never been in such an unfavorable operational-tactical situation, so it is obvious that its 1st Corps will not be able to resist the offensive of the joint Federation forces by itself. Therefore panic has set in not only among the inhabitants of the ethnically almost thoroughly clean city, but also in the "state" and military leadership. They are trying to rescue themselves by inviting the Yugoslav Army to help them again, and by agreeing to the ceasefire unconditionally, so as not to have a rerun of "the loss of Serbian Krajina," or not to have to turn Banja Luka into Stalingrad. Whether Stalingrad will happen — that is hard to say. But it is not hard to say that the time for the peaceful reintegration of the rebel Serbs in eastern Slavonia, Baranja and western Srijem into the constitutional legal system of Croatia is expiring, so that for them the temporarily occupied Vukovar could become — the undefended Stalingrad.

Bosnian Vote in Croatian Assembly 'Unacceptable'

AU2310162095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 95

[Report by Nada al-Issa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is unacceptable that Croats, citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, vote for the Republic of Croatia's assembly. This decision by President Tudjman is extremely strange, and prompts one to doubt Croatian sincerity regarding the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is the opinion of Stipe Mesic, president of the Croatian Independent Democrats. According to Mesic, Tudjman arrived at this decision for two reasons; first, because he is counting on the fact that all Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina will vote for his Croatian Democratic Community and thus contribute to his victory; and the second reason, Mesic maintains, is doubt. Could Tudjman possibly already be seeing Bosnia, or at least some parts of it, in Croatia? If not, how is it possible that the citizens of one country can simultaneously be deputies in the parliament of another country?

Ivica Racan's Party of Democratic Change [as heard; party changed name to Social Democratic Party] believes that with this decision Tudjman has (?denied) the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats the right to be a constituent nation in Bosnia, and has actually proclaimed them to be

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the diaspora, and now Tudjman himself probably does not know what he wants.

However, the position of Drazen Budisa, president of the Croatian Social Liberal Party, is surprising: He maintains that all this is in accordance with the Republic of Croatia's Constitution, which gives every Croat the right to vote for the Croatian Assembly. However, the Liberals failed to explain how it is possible that the stipulations of the Croatian Constitution extend to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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UN's Stoltenberg Calls Osijek Talks 'Useful'

LD2310204595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2023 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—U.N. envoy to former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg described on Monday as useful talks held between delegations of Croatia and the Srem-Baranja region in Osijek earlier in the day.

Stoltenberg who, together with E.U. [European Union] envoy Carl Bildt, co-chairs the international conference on former Yugoslavia, said he would be happy if the next round of negotiations on Wednesday should proceed at the same brisk pace and in the same climate.

The Monday talks were attended by U.S. Ambassador in Zagreb Peter Galbraith and E.U. Ambassador Geerd Ahrens.

Galbraith said that the Osijek talks had been about a peaceful settlement that included the questions of human rights and freedoms for all, the return of refugees and displaced persons and (?live) in safety.

The Monday talks produced no signed documents and it was indicated that the mediators would draft a document for the resumption of the talks in Erdut on Wednesday.

Head of the Croatian delegation Hrvoje Sarinic told local radio that the agreement to meet again showed that some progress was in sight and that some further rapprochement of stands, which were rather far apart now, was to be expected.

The Srem-Baranja region (sector east) is the only part of the U.N.-protected republic of Serb Krajina (Serb state in Croatia) that the Croatian army has not invaded.

Croatia's aggressions of May and August on the west, south and north of the republic of Serb Krajina claimed thousands of Serb civilian casualties and displaced more than 260,000 others, whose houses have been plundered and torched.

Serbs Said to Agree To Reintegrate

LD2310162195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 23 Oct 95

[Report by correspondent Zeljka Bacic reporting from Osijek]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The third round of talks between the Croatian state delegation and representatives of local Serbs on the peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem ended in Osijek today after five hours of discussion.

No agreement has been signed, but some progress has been made because the Serbs have unconditionally accepted the reintegration of the Croatian area, Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the Croatian delegation, said after the talks. The Croatian side did not back down from any of its principles, because nothing short of reintegration and constitutional, legal, and economic integration into the system of the Republic of Croatia can be considered. However, there are still considerable differences in stance on the duration of the transition period.

The next round of talks has been agreed for Wednesday in Erdut, and there will be more talks over the weekend.

According to Sarinic, it cannot be ruled out that something might be signed before the talks in the United States.

Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia, said that a new document—which will be presented in Erdut on Wednesday—will be prepared as early as tomorrow. [passage omitted]

Serbs Deny Agreement Reached

LD2310184395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1736 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Osijek, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—Delegations of the Council of the Srem-Baranja District and the Croatian Government met today in Osijek's town hall. Apart from setting a date for another meeting, the talks have not yielded any tangible results. [passage omitted]

At the beginning of the talks Thorvald Stoltenberg and U.S. Ambassador Peter Galbraith offered the Serb and the Croatian delegation a draft agreement on the future of the Srem-Baranja district.

Milan Milanovic, the head of the Serb negotiating team, said the draft was accepted solely as a working document.

During the five-hour talks the duration of the transitional period under UN administration was discussed in more detail, as well as guarantees for human rights and conditions for demilitarizing the Srem-Baranja district. Milanovic said that the Serb side persisted in its view that the transitional period should last five years, whereas Galbraith suggested two years.

"The U.S. proposal has practically eliminated the Croatian demand for the transitional period to last between one year and 18 months," Milanovic explained.

The Serb side is to voice its position on this and other proposals tomorrow, it has been announced by members of the delegation of the Council of the Srem and Baranja Region.

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Milanovic particularly stressed that nothing has yet been agreed nor signed in definitive terms, thus denying a statement by Hrvoje Sarinic, the head of the Croatian delegation, that the Serb side has agreed with the peaceful reintegration.

"Sarinic's statement is only part of the Croatian Democratic Union election campaign," Milanovic said. [passage omitted]

The following round of Serb-Croatian talks is to take place in Erdut on Wednesday.

HDZ Secretary Reports on Party Development

AU2310125895 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 Oct 95 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Firm and Unanimous Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zlatko Canjuga, secretary general of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], has submitted a report on the work of the HDZ central bodies and described the situation in the party regarding its organization and political activities on the eve of the upcoming general elections. He recalled that from the moment it was created the HDZ faced complex social changes following the collapse of communist Yugoslavia. The HDZ platform called for the abandonment of the communist legacy and the creation of a separate state. The state of Croatia was the major goal that the party's platform was based on. The party's activity was imbued with Starcevic's and Radic's [Croatian politicians of early 20th century] political spirit, while today it is based on modern European political endeavor. In the past five years unity has been achieved between the Croatian diaspora and the Croatian state, and this has strengthened the country's position in the world.

The secretary has recalled last year's brief wave of departures from the HDZ and underlined that those departures did not weaken the party, but only improved its reputation at home and abroad. After that, from April to July 1994 alone, 2,580 new members joined the HDZ, which speaks enough for the policy of President Tudjman as the best expression of the party's political life as well as that of the state.

30,000 New Members

In the last year the HDZ has experienced a steady growth of membership. From November last year until 10 October this year, the county branches of HDZ have registered 20,000 new members, while the head office of HDZ has registered more than a 1,000 new members. Canjuga has underlined the constantly growing interest in the HDZ membership, which was encouraged by the Blitz and Storm liberation operations in particular. Those actions have confirmed the policy's correctness of the policy so far.

Speaking of the membership structure, Canjuga has underlined that the HDZ is open to everybody and that it has not been interested merely in sensational transfers. Many deputies of city and county assemblies have joined the HDZ, so that the HDZ has retaken authority in Varazdin County. The case of Rijeka has shown the lack of success of the ruling coalition, which has failed to integrate the city into Croatian economic and political life. Canjuga has also pointed out that since recently the HDZ has been the major party in Split, where President Tudjman was given an overwhelming reception recently. Entire branches of the Croatian National Party in Slavonia, Osijek, Vinkovci and Slavonski Brod, as well as in Zadar-Knin County, have changed over to the HDZ. From last November until late August this year more than 700 people joined the HDZ in Dubrovnik-Neretva County, while in Koprivnica-Krizevac County, where the Croatian Peasant Party [HSS] was in power, the HDZ has registered 220 new members, thereby winning a majority in the county assembly. Estimating that in the period between the Second and Third General Convention the HDZ gained approximately 30,000 new members, Canjuga reckoned that today the HDZ numbers 427,897 members.

Speaking about the party's international activities, Canjuga pointed out that the HDZ has become an associate member of the EUCD [extension not known, possibly EDU, European Democratic Union], with a right to vote. The secretary general has underlined that the HDZ is a stable and consistent party thanks to President Tudjman's moderate policy. Over the last two years, two meetings of the central board have been held at which the new secretary general and five deputy chairmen of the central board have been elected. A decision has been made on the conduct of inter-party elections, which will be completed at this Third General Convention. The participants have applauded the proposal that the party's statute should be modified, according to which the chairman of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina should occasionally take part in work of the HDZ presidency.

Solid and Unified Party

Speaking of the HDZ's activity in parliament, Canjuga recalled the transfer of some opposition deputies to the HDZ. The party welcomed Denis Jelenkovic of the Istrian Democratic Association [IDS], Damir Zoric and Mate Mestrovic of the Croatian Socialist Liberal Party [HSLS], Elio Martincic, founder of IDS, Mirko Tankosic and Ivica Vrkic of HNS, and Mirko Madjor,

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former chairman of HSS. Canjuga denied allegations that the HDZ was actually soliciting deputies and offering them money, positions and stocks, saying that, in view of its firm position, the HDZ does not have any need to buy anybody. He also pointed out that coordination between the HDZ and the Croatian diaspora is quite good and that HDZ branches have been established among the Croats in Portugal and Malaysia, while one is being prepared in Spain.

"For the forthcoming period, which will be characterized by the upcoming general elections, we need a HDZ that is solid and unified, that will implement the policy of President Tudjman and keep the HDZ as the central force in Croatia," Canjuga said, adding: "Over the last five years the HDZ has been pursuing a determined policy of protection of Croatian national interests, opposing any disunion in the Croatian national body. Today Croatia has its own army and currency, and for all that President Tudjman and the HDZ take the greatest credit. For that reason the HDZ ought to be reinforced by new people and new ideas because every single man is essential to the party."

Tudjman's 'Hold' on Convention

AU2310125795 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 95 p 2

[Commentary by Olga Ramljak: "A Lesson of High Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the First General Convention of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], which was held in a state-constituting atmosphere, and the Second Convention, which featured the necessity of remaining on the line even at the price of "leaded night [as published]," the Third HDZ Convention has presented to its membership and the public the high politics of the dedicated reconciliatory option in all fields.

With an impressive number of representatives and guests (around 2,000 altogether) crowded at the Vatroslav Lisinski Hall in Zagreb, the HDZ officials demonstrated by numbers and performance why they expect to win the elections. They enumerated all their successes in the accomplishment of the Croatian independence and sovereignty and the consolidation of Croatia and the Croatian diaspora around state interests. President Tudjman, elected party chairman for the third time, easily agreed with critics in his own party regarding the credit for the successes: It is true that the Croatian people have accomplished everything, but it is also true that the HDZ has guided the people in the accomplishment of those elevated historic goals. Conceding that every party has its right and left line, Tudjman uncompromisingly urged his party once more to follow the middle one. True, at this convention few people declared themselves against such an option. It is only Tomislav Mercep who dared do that, causing nothing but anger and admonition on the part of the leader, even though Mercep still paid him a tribute in his critical address. It is just that Mercep cannot get over the cadre renewal, which is the most conspicuous novelty in the ruling party. "There are some new people without veteran distinctions, who are still needed by Croatia," Tudjman said, whose point found confirmation in the HDZ representatives' votes. This time the sympathy for the rebel, comparable to that shown by the leader toward some dissatisfied party members at the Second Convention, failed to materialize. At the time the veterans were given generous satisfaction for the party's injustice to them because they were pushed on the back seat. "I have enough courage to do what is unpopular if that is in the interest of the Croatian state and the HDZ," Tudjman said resolutely this time, sending a clear message to those who cannot or are not able to follow the middle line: "Let them go! They will harm themselves thereby, not the HDZ!"

At the peaceful Third Convention, which did not even have an ostensible countercandidate to President Tudjman, or the possibility of expanding the president's list of candidates for the deputy chairman, the diaspora tried to cause a minor conflict. In the opinion of the Croats at home and abroad the return of Croatian emigrants is progressing rather slowly. However, the third most important man in the party according to votes, namely Defense Minister Gojko Susak, told them rather angrily that in 1990 nobody welcomed the diaspora Croats who were coming to take part in the foundation and liberation of Croatia. Nevertheless, despite bureaucratic hurdles the fatherland, free and sovereign today, welcomes all of them.

On the other hand, there has been much rumor and speculation about the dissatisfaction of Slavonia because none of its more prominent politicians has been placed among the five deputy chairmen of the party. One of those positions was offered to Marija Bajt of Slavonska Pozega, but she did not accept. There are also rumors about the position of newcomers from other parties as well, which has not deterred people from applauding them when they have been designated to the Supervisory Board and the Central Board of HDZ. As one of the ignored Slavonians has said in view of the rearrangement of functions, "the times may be cruel, but they must not be crude."

By disciplinary accommodation to the given course of middle line, the participants at the Third HDZ Convention are the best proof that the HDZ has learnt the lesson about compulsory observance of party discipline.

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It was a lesson of high politics under the firm hold of Tudjman's, being the guarantee that the HDZ will accomplish the goal of lasting for many decades to come, which was pointed out in the finale of the convention.

In the harmonious atmosphere of frequent acclamations in the hall, and invisible collecting of signatures for self-candidacy in the lobbies of the Central Board, a little more room for self-initiative would have added a bit more democratic character to the convention. Perhaps in this point lies the answer to the question about the 450 missing votes on the occasion when the leadership of the party was elected, which is something that even the election of the chairman of the HDZ was not spared.

HDZ Convention Assessed

AU2310123595 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 95 p 6

[Commentary by Neven Santic: "Hawks' Clipped Wings"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Third General Convention of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] has completed the process of realignment of the party, and has fitted together the mosaic that now reliably guarantees party chairman Franjo Tudjman an undisputed role in further designing the party's (state) policy. If the first convention, in February 1990, articulated the tendencies and potential of the party, while the second, exactly two years ago, was characterized by restructuring of the cadre, signaling the compulsory form of their activities, the most recent one, which has just concluded, has left no shadow of doubt that there will be no mercy any longer for any kind of "free-shooters" within the HDZ.

The very timing of the convention at the time of election campaign has given people reason to assume that the party leadership is leaving nothing to chance. It was a marvelous opportunity to hold a two-day election rally, but, what is more important, any possibility of dutiful party members' blurting out what should not be blurted out was prevented. Indeed, it would take a lot of guts to call in question the party's policy or cadre solutions at the height of an election campaign, and thereby seriously harm one's own party. As it transpired, the scenario was implemented according to plan, so it is precisely the variety of mutual confrontation typical of such conventions that was lacking. In that respect the Third HDZ Convention was not even a shadow of the previous two conventions.

Therefore, the seriousness of the situation simply forced participants to compete in enumerating the party's merits for successes on the state level, and to make repeated promises about continuing such a policy, that is, it let out on the surface a whole range of well-known theories used by HDZ before, during, and after the election campaign. The opposition was given its own portion—"local petty politicians and comedians" were denounced.

Which is to say, almost all the participants understood correctly what the party leadership required of them. Clearly, they did not miss even a veiled sentence in Tudjman's speech on Saturday in which he demanded of his party colleagues, regardless of their being more inclined toward the center, left or right, that they stick to the party's middle line in the implementation of policy, making it clear that now he has much more efficient means of thwarting those who have deviated from it.

This, however, did not apply to Tomislav Mercep. Determined to push his own justice to the end, he experienced defeat in the jampacked Lisinski Hall, and unconsciously gave his party chairman the opportunity to score a point once more, and this time definitely, thereby confirming his own strength and the weakness of those individuals who still believe that within the HDZ they can take as much liberty as they feel is enough for them.

Mercep's Case—the Message of the Third Convention

The Mercep case has most transparently illustrated the purpose and the message of the Third Convention, the purpose and the message of one's being involved in the HDZ, and, as never before, the political doctrine of Tudjman himself. In brief, the function of HDZ is to be a lever in the realization of Tudjman's idea of the Croatian state, and nobody has a right to call that right in question. If it was possible to tolerate occasional and individual deviations toward the extreme left or right, and chiefly because of internal circumstances, now that practice is definitely gone.

In other words, Tudjman has become more than ever aware that after the liberation of much of the country a period is coming in which other topics will be focused on as well. The country should finally get closer to the European integrating processes, and increase the influx of foreign capital without which, even a layman knows, it will be impossible to accomplish the expected industrialization of the country. On the other hand, no less important are the constant ambushes set up by the opposition, which is trying really hard to catch the HDZ red-handed in any respect. In such an environment, capricious individuals, no matter how much credit they take for the strengthening the party, are definitely out. Voters are becoming more demanding—"The solidity of the party is important, but elections are won by winning over the majority of the people," Tudjman puts

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it explicitly—and in order to win them over Iva Majoli is considered more important than a hundred others who may possibly discredit the party.

Thus without changing its basic action strategy envisaged by Tudjman, the HDZ is bringing the first phase of its action to a close, which is in many things defined by the war. Now we are entering the peaceful stage, in which the party needs people of a different quality than egocentric veterans. Whoever fails the test of such a washing of the party will simply have to fall out. This is the clear message from the HDZ state list, which has been made clear to Mercep as well.

Silent Purge

The abruptness and resolve of Tudjman's reaction to Mercep's provocation shows how much the HDZ cares about victory in the coming elections. The iron discipline within the party alone would mean nothing if it happened to end up in opposition. Not only would Tudjman's vision of new Croatia be disrupted, but the HDZ as a movement of people with different interests and needs, connected primarily by power, would cave in by itself, with little chance of ever recovering. On the other hand, nobody can maintain with certainty that, in the event of the HDZ's victory in the elections, tension within the party would not continue, but the selection of cadres, that is, the silent purge recently carried out, make us conclude that the wings of all potential hawks have been clipped in advance.

Tudjman has taken full control of the HDZ, in which he has invested his entire political capital. How many voters are ready to trust him further will be known in just 10 days or so. That will be the greatest test for him after the one he had in 1990.

Bid to Involve Tudjman in Public Debate Assailed

LD2310191495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Let us first hear a statement we have just received from the secretary general of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ]:

The invitation to Franjo Tudjman, chairman and head of the HDZ state list for the forthcoming parliamentary elections, to take part in a public debate with Drazen Budisa, chairman of the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS], is just another unsuccessful attempt by Mr. Budisa and his party to grant themselves the importance which is not due to them by any objective criteria.

The reasons he uses in his attempt to justify this invitation are unusual, to say the least. Their only purpose is to challenge and provoke the other side.

It is well known that the HDZ has already spelled out and specified the program of its own election campaign and presentation—both the party program and the candidates. In the same way, the role of party chairman Franjo Tudjman in the campaign has been worked out. The campaign is being conducted in full compliance with the positive rulings of the Croatian state.

With regard to the above, we consider the proposal for a debate between the HDZ chairman with one of the 14 heads of the state lists to be inappropriate and just another unsuccessful promotional attempt by the HSLS and its chairman. This is said in the statement by the HDZ secretary general.

Tudjman Calls Mercep's 'Radicalism' Unacceptable

AU1910134495 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 95 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Extremists Are Threatening the HDZ and Croatia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After it was announced that his candidacy for membership in the Croatian Democratic Community's [HDZ] Central Committee had been rejected, Tomislav Mercep asked to be allowed to speak. In a very emotional address, he said that he had joined the HDZ five years ago, when he had been a wealthy and honest man. However, Mercep said, I have now learned that I am neither one nor the other because I have recognized myself in some of the explanations given for the rejection of my candidacy. [sentence as published] If someone other than President Tudjman, whom I respect, value, and for whom I have a lot of affection, were sitting in the presidential chair, there would be many things that I would say now. He went on say that it was fine for Iva Majoli [Croatian female tennis star] to be a member of the HDZ leadership, but that those who had joined the HDZ five years ago and had given everything for the defense of Croatia and its freedom also had to have their place. Afterwards, Mercep said that he would continue to be a HDZ member, but that from tomorrow onwards, his positions as deputy in the Assembly's House of Districts and adviser in the Interior Ministry would be vacant. He ended his speech with the greeting: "For the homeland!"

An Imposed Sin

Following this, HDZ President Dr. Franjo Tudjman took the floor. He said that he was aware of what Tomislav Mercep had done for the liberation and defense of Croatia. But I am also aware of what is good for the HDZ and the Republic of Croatia. Had we simply kept the initial members of the HDZ, without including

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new ones, we would no longer have either the HDZ or Croatia. Tomislav Mercep should understand this, President Tudjman said and added: "I was in Vukovar in August 1991, and I found Tomislav Mercep there. I value that. I value his role in the liberation war, but regardless of his contribution, Tomislav Mercep cannot take it upon himself to decide who will be what in the army, who will be chief of General Staff and who minister because he is doing this from his own perspective."

Continuing, President Tudjman said that, if he had ever had great problems because of the HDZ and the Republic of Croatia, he had had them because of people like Tomislav Mercep. "The world is not ruled solely by truth and justice, but also by the impression one creates. We were constantly reminded that our greatest sin was the fact that we were allegedly a continuation of Pavelic's Independent State of Croatia, and that we were allowing the symbols and remnants of this state to be flaunted. This was so from the first days of the war up until the liberation of Knin. I commend Tomislav Mercep's contribution to the Homeland War, but I cannot allow him to tour HDZ branches and rallies, and volunteers' associations and associations of war invalids—which I am extremely fond of—and to promote and implement a policy that is contrary to the HDZ's central policy. I cannot allow him to form secret terrorist organizations, or to launch ZORA, which writes in such a way that I often have trouble differentiating between ZORA and FERAL TRIBUNE."

President Tudjman then went on to say that, owing to such impressions, on many occasions several of our friends could not support Croatia. Because of this, Tudjman continued, we had problems with being admitted to associations of European national and Christian Democratic parties. Tomislav Mercep was considered to be one of the main obstacles because he allowed himself to implement a policy contrary to that of the HDZ leadership and contrary to the HDZ's central policy. I have personally done everything to save him, but he would not accept it.

Mercep Left Lisinski Hall

Do not be lured by radicalism. Our most sincere friends, the Vatican, the Pope, and his closest associates pointed this problem out to us on several occasions. That is why we must conduct a reasonable policy, and that is the HDZ's central policy, Franjo Tudjman stressed. Tomislav Mercep should finally accept this, the president added. If he wishes to remain in the HDZ, he may do so, but we must all understand the it is not only the HDZ membership that wins elections, it is the people, and that is why we must conduct a policy that will win the trust of the majority of the people. We must not provide arguments for Croatia's opponents in the world.

"Can you not see that this same world has allowed Serb aggression, that it still continues to negotiate with the Serbs, with the goal of satisfying them through a peaceful solution, yet at the same time it summons some Serbs to the The Hague tribunal? There were requests to hand over some of our people to The Hague, there were other attempts to compromise Croatia and the HDZ. That is why Tomislav Mercep and all of us must understand that we cannot conduct an unreasonable policy; policy is not conducted only with the heart, but with the head as well." In the remainder of his address, President Tudjman, frequently interrupted by loud applause, said that nothing must threaten our achievements and the sacrifices we have made. We must secure Croatia's future primarily through the stability of the HDZ and its central policy, because extremists, both rightists and leftists, are calling into question the HDZ and the survival and freedom of the Republic of Croatia, President Tudjman concluded.

After this, Tomislav Mercep left the hall in which the HDZ Third General Convention is being held, and subsequently left the Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall.

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Speaker Andov Attends UN Flag-Raising Ceremony

AU2410090495 Skopje MIC in English 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] From Saturday [21 October], the Macedonian flag is raised in front of the building of the UN, alongside all other flags of the member-states of the World organization. At the formal ceremony of the raising of the flag, UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali said that "this act symbolizes the truth and understanding, as a condition for friendship in the region and the international community." "And, while its colors are being flown alongside the flags of the other member-states, let The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] live in peace, as a full member of the family of nations," UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali said at the ceremony in front of the UN building.

The head of the Macedonian state delegation, Parliamentary Speaker Stojan Andov, thanked the UN officials who contributed and helped realize this act and said "this is a moment of pride for the Republic of Macedonia."

Immediately after the ceremony, Cyrus Vance came to the headquarters of the mission of the Republic of Macedonia and held talks with Parliamentary Speaker Stojan Andov. Vance was interested in President Gligorov's health and assessed that even in this situation, Macedonia proved to be a mature subject, which is deemed highly by the international community.

Addresses UN General Assembly

AU2310203295 Skopje MIC in English 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Parliamentary Speaker Stojan Andov, in replacing the president of the country Kiro Gligorov, and who is heading the Macedonian state delegation at the formal jubilee assembly of the UN, addressed the General Assembly of the World organization yesterday.

At the beginning of his speech, Andov reminded that President Gligorov should have been the one to address this gathering of world leaders. "He was prevented from attending because he is still in treatment after the criminal, terrorist attack on him," Andov said. "Luckily, the assassination attempt did not achieve the political goal to destabilize the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], to change its democratic, peace-loving course and its role as a key factor of the peace in the south of the Balkans. That is the policy that remains as a lasting and strategic orientation of the RM," Stojan Andov told the participants.

He underlined that Macedonia was present in the world organization, as a founder from the very start, as a federal member of the former SFRY.

"Over the past five years, the Republic of Macedonia has shown itself as a key factor of the peace in the south of the Balkans," Andov said, and listed the principles of the Macedonian policy. He underlined the peace and legitimate way of realizing the right to self-orientation of the Macedonian people for independence, the orientation for political negotiations following the break up of the SFRY, the orientation for inviolability of the frontiers by means of force, proclaiming its state within the constitutional and internationally recognized borders. Andov said that Macedonia has actively implemented the policy of good-neighborly relations and equidistance towards the neighbors, and has decided on quick market reforms, democracy and European integration of countries. He also stressed the orientation for the implementation of the international standards and tradition for equality of the nationalities and inter-ethnic understanding and tolerance. Andov said that Macedonia has managed to endure the consequences from the UN sanctions against the FRY with enormous self-sacrifices.

With Macedonia's membership, the UN has accepted the right of the people of Macedonia to self-orientation and independence and its territorial integrity and sovereignty. This has put an end to the historical negations, divisions and genocide of an autochthonous European nation and its right to a state, whereas, with the deployment of its peace-keeping forces, the UN has helped prevent the escalation of the war to the south of the Balkans and have given a clear signal that the independence and territorial integrity of RM are also a concrete interest of the World organization.

VMRO-DPMNE Responds to Bombing Allegations

AU2410110295 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 20 Oct 95 pp 16-17

[Interview with Ljupco Georgievski, president of the VMRO-DPMNE, by Sinisa Stankovic; place and date not given: "We Are Being Accused as Usual"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Stankovic] What negative effect has the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] registered since the mass media connected your party with the assassination attempt against President Gligorov?

[Georgievski] There has been a clear political loss. All the insinuations against the VMRO-DPMNE generally mislead a part of the voting body in the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of

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Macedonia—FYROM], particularly the one that is in the balance and the one that is not affiliated to any party, those who are not satisfied with the work of the authority, but do not see any other alternative—because, as they say, the alternative is too extremist. This is exactly the group of voters that decides the elections. The negative effect is primarily of an internal nature, without mentioning that the insinuations can disturb the international position of the VMRO-DPMNE: Everything that the VMRO-DPMNE has fought for in the past five years and that I, as president, have been particularly engaged in, and everything that was envisioned at the Congress in Kicevo, may now have negative implications on the international plane. We have been reshuffling some of our members, we have abolished some committees in order to avoid the label of extremists, and after the recent groundless accusations, our general course has once again been reviewed. On the other side, there is an open question—how much a Macedonian national extremist of any kind is prepared to organize and perform such an assassination attempt, as the one against Mr. Gligorov? Or, even if he is ready, how capable is he of doing such a thing?

What we as a party are concerned with in the situation that happened after the attempt is—the confinement of some of our members. Perhaps the investigation is being conducted in several directions, but the main direction it is taking is against the VMRO-DPMNE. It is strange that in the past five years the VMRO-DPMNE has been put under the strictest control in Macedonia and its membership has been suffering constant pressure. Our work has been connected with many police affairs, just remember the affair of the "Blue Bird," and today there is probably not a single VMRO-DPMNE committee, not even in the highest body, in which there is not an informer working for the State Security Service. Somehow it is covered with telephone bugs, but it is a fact that we have become accustomed to living and working under circumstances of permanent scrutiny. So, how is it possible for the most scrutinized party to be accused of participation in a terrorist act? If we are so capable, despite the strongest control, of being involved in extremism, and if those who insist that we are involved in the assassination attempt really believe this—is it not then necessary to wipe out the entire security service?

[Stankovic] In the commentaries of the foreign media Macedonian nationalists and the VMRO-DPMNE were often noted as potential assassins. How much influence on this do the history of the VMRO and the present VMRO-DPMNE have, as well the U.S. assessment that you are connected with terrorism? Your international secretary Ljupco Boskovski announced to the Croat mass media that you will present charges against the British secret service because it accused the VMRO-DPMNE of participation in the assassination attempt.

[Georgievski] Attacks saying that the perpetrators can be found within the VMRO-DPMNE ranks come from several directions. The first accusations arrived from Russian sources, the second wave arrived from some British newspapers, while the third and the strongest wave against our party came from the Serbian press. As for the other media, it was noted that the formulations linked with the Macedonian nationalists were more moderate and reserved as far as our party was concerned, or as far as its supporters were concerned. All this explains that the first texts were written automatically and that they not as a result of any real knowledge of the present situation. With the passing of time, I may note, the commentaries are becoming much more reserved and the executors are being sought in other places. This automatic response must surely come from the historic past of the VMRO because, in the past five years, the VMRO-DPMNE has never given any cause for "being associated" with terrorism. The rare incidents caused by some in 1991-93 were nothing to do with the VMRO-DPMNE and today they are members of other parties. The reasons why we are involved in the affair are complex, some internal, and some external, there are various combinations, and this is exactly why we are insisting on revealing the whole case, because we believe that the present negative force can soon be transformed into a positive one, that is, into a constructive approach toward the VMRO-DPMNE.

[Stankovic] Your presidential candidate Ljubisa Georgievski, in his last public address, was advocating a constructive approach for the relevant political factors in the state and a generally accepted platform, but all this was conditioned with extraordinary elections. What is your comment and how far can the criminal attempt affect a positive direction, the beginning of a "Macedonian reconciliation inside and outside the country?"

[Georgievski] It is true that this idea is interesting and acceptable for the VMRO-DPMNE, but we do not feel called upon to act as initiators for organizing a "joint table" because it is something that has to be done by the state structures. At this moment I think it is more in their interest than in ours. However, such a concrete initiative—has not emerged so far.

As far as extraordinary elections are concerned, just after the fake elections in 1994, we asked for new extraordinary elections and this is our ultimate goal. Macedonia needs them not only because of the assassination attempt against Gligorov, but because of the absence of

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parliamentary opposition in the country. I personally do not believe that it is only the opposition that is interested in new elections, there are citizens in Macedonia that are also interested in this, and I also believe that the authority itself wants something to be moving on in Macedonia.

[Stankovic] You say that the Alliance for Macedonia came into power by falsifying the elections and that it is organizing a "witch hunt" and the political lynching of your party. Was it not the political activity of the VMRO-DPMNE, starting from 1994, after it had refused to accept the present authority and after accusing the President, that created a suitable climate for extremists?

[Georgievski] This is a question that deserves a more complex answer. The official authority, since it could not present arguments for the perpetrators and organizers of the assassination attempt, organized a political lynching, and it is clear that the perpetrator himself is not as important as those who created a suitable atmosphere for the attempt. The authority was making extensive insinuations against the VMRO-DPMNE, although there were also other parties that created such an atmosphere, but the VMRO-DPMNE was the one that most strongly criticized the president and it said that his policy was national treason. We were strongly criticizing Gligorov, and we shall continue to do so even after he returns to office, because we assess that the catastrophic results in the internal economic and on the international plane have not changed. We shall continue to denounce the humiliating Accord with Greece whose negative results are yet to come. However, what does the opposition do in any other democratic state? We think we have enough reason for strong criticism, but the attacks "against someone who created a certain atmosphere" at a time when the one who is responsible has not yet been discovered is outside the norms of any law-governed state. Does this mean that the opposition has to keep quiet so as not to create an atmosphere for extremists? What if it is proved that the perpetrator of this assassination attempt is working for the Mafia, which is conducting a financial oligarchy in Macedonia? Does this not mean that we should have been even more energetic in our criticisms and thus contributed to a speedier solution of the problems, so that the recent terrorist act might have been avoided?

Defense Ministry Statement on Tetovo 'University'

LD2110162995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—Students from the Shqiptar language "university" in Tetovo, which the Skopje Government considers as unconstitutional, cannot postpone their military service term on the basis of student cards issued by this university, the Defense Ministry announced last night. The Defense Ministry issued the statement in response to reports that first-year students from the "University" in Tetovo had allegedly had their military service in the Macedonian Army postponed.

The statement specifies that no student with "documents from the so-called Tetovo university" had their military service postponed. On the contrary, these young men are drafted into the army in accordance with the current law. All student recruits, regardless of their nationality, have their military service postponed only if they provide proof of regular student status at one of the two universities in the country, the statement says in conclusion.

Classes at the Shqiptar "university" on the outskirts of Tetovo, in the north west of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], began last week in illegal conditions, in private houses and religious buildings.

It remains to be seen if anyone will recognize the diplomas issued by the ethnically pure university, seeing that, in line with its constitution, Macedonia has not granted it legality.

Liberal Party Official on Relations in Coalition

95BA0346A Skopje PULS in Macedonian 25 Aug 95 pp 7-10

[Interview with Ace Kocevski by Sinisa Stankovic; place and date not given: "I Am Not A Sharpshooter"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Having developed a political career under two different systems, Ace Kocevski still lives in Titov Veles where he started as a young activist at the university. After that, he served as an official in the "Union" youth organization in Belgrade and participated in the founding of the "Youth"—Young Democratic-Progressive Party during the period of "single-mindedness." In the pluralist, multiparty system, he reached the position of secretary of a political party that is the financially strongest in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] according to a number of people. He has also become coordinator of the parliamentary group of the Liberal Party and chairman of the Assembly's Commission for Urban Development and City Planning.*

We discussed with him the (non)functioning of the Alliance for Macedonia [governing coalition]; the nonfulfillment of electoral promises; relations with coalition partners; the unfinished development of the democratic infrastructure in Macedonia; the "struggle" waged by

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the government against organized crime and the danger of a cover-up of the "Hard Rock" affair; the "directors' lobby" and the (mis)use of power; professional politicians in Macedonia and the advantages and disadvantages of that profession; responsibility to the voters and the "restoration of dignity" of the Macedonian parliament....

[Stankovic] Why did this long-term activist in the youth organization, which was controlled by the League of Communists, pursue his political career as member of the Liberal Party [LP]?

[Kocevski] My initial involvement in politics was in the youth organization during my high school days, continuing with the youth organization at the Kiril i Metodij University, the republic youth organization, and the bodies of the then union youth organization. What is notable here is that, at that time, the university did not have a SKM [League of Communists of Macedonia] university committee. From that perspective, as a youth activist, I was free from the daily or periodic pressure applied by the SKM leadership to which the young people in the townships were exposed. At that time, I considered my role primarily as a means of organizing the young people to enable them to influence the resolution of their problems. From the present perspective, the possibilities for such work then were very limited since the youth organization was a collective member of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, and everything was dominated by the SKM which issued instructions and general regulations. This was at the time of the beginning of the breakdown of SFRJ [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] following the appearance of the Slovene REVIJA 57 and the SANU [Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences] Memorandum, the period of the eighth session of the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists, the meeting in Gazimestan, and the "log revolution" [road blockades made by Krajina Serbs]. The motivation to pursue my political activeness was based on the idea that developed under the guidance of the Macedonian youth organization for converting from one system to another—that is, the formation of a political party, the Young Democratic-Progressive Party. On a great number of issues, this party was almost identical in its political views to the Macedonian Reformist Forces Party. This closeness led to a certain degree of collaboration and the nomination of joint candidates for the assembly at the first multiparty elections. However, we determined that in Macedonia such a large number of political parties could not exist, and we therefore resolved not to rally with the SRSM [Party of Reformist Forces of Macedonia] but, together with the SRSM to organize the Party of Reformist Forces of Macedonia-Liberal Party. Furthermore, the nucleus of the then Macedonian youth organization that, together with the editors of the MLAD BOREC newspaper, played a major role in the democratization of Macedonia. This core group was somewhat later supported by Petar Gosev, the then chairman of the SKM Central Committee. We considered that, in view of the ratio of forces relative to our political views, the best option at that time was the liberal option. This remains the case today.

[Stankovic] At that time, charges were made by the SKM-PDP [League of Communists of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation] to the effect that Ante Markovic was "another Tempo" and a "Trojan horse in Macedonia"...

[Kocevski] I believe that when, someday, the history of this time is written, Ante Markovic will be rated positively. He could not oppose the republic leadership. His only error "at the beginning" was that his good economic program was not followed by an adequate program for changes in the political system. At that time, it was not possible to hold parliamentary elections. All the political forces that would have promoted such elections and assumed responsibility for the implementation of the program did not support his program for economic reform. The accusations are groundless because the SRSM was, from its very start and according to its name and programmatic stipulations, a Macedonian party in which Ante Markovic played an insignificant role in the campaign except for the fact that his name was used.

[Stankovic] Among the reasons for the establishment of the SZM [Alliance for Macedonia], the Declaration of the Alliance for Macedonia that you submitted at the meeting of the Liberal Party, mentions the lack of development of a democratic infrastructure in Macedonia. To what extent has such a structure been developed today?

[Kocevski] In the classical meaning of the term, under the conditions of an underdeveloped civil society, one could freely say that in Macedonia democracy is functioning without a properly developed infrastructure. We still are in a situation in which no single political party in Macedonia can boast of having a developed social structure which supports it. Thus, all parties turn to the citizens and to the people, and from this point of view, one could speak of major instability in the political processes in Macedonia. In England, a 5-percent shift in the electoral body would certainly displace the party in power. In our country, the situation cannot be predicted and, to the very last moment, the ratio of forces remains unclear. However, the question is whether at present we can criticize the political parties for lacking a clear social identity. In today's circumstances, this would mean

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the political suicide of the Liberal Party, for example, if it were to declare itself as, let us say, the party of big capital, or else as strictly the party of the intellectuals. This would mean that we would be ignoring a huge share of the electoral body. We currently have a situation in which all the political parties include all kinds of people, although, gradually, the situation is beginning to crystalize. From that point of view, my party can already claim to have a certain identity. Nonetheless, time must do its work.

[Stankovic] What portion of the electoral body does the Liberal Party consider its own?

[Kocevski] My view is that the LP [Liberal Party] is the party of the people who support the liberal idea and would like to build a democratic civil society and of people who are engaged in business. It is the party of people who are successful businessmen during this time of transition, regardless of whether they work in private or publicly owned enterprises, although the number of workers and farmers in it is also substantial.

The LP is also the party of the intellectuals. We do not have an accurate analysis of the sources of membership. The registration of new members only shows that the party consists mostly of individuals with higher or highly specialized training. It is from this cadre potential that the party draws its strength and takes its shape. According to our philosophy for advancing the party's development, we do not promote it as a mass populous party. The LP should have a small, yet select, membership—people with authority and moral qualities who could draw to their ranks a large number of sympathizers and voters. The reason is that in Macedonia sympathizers determine who will win the elections because no more than 20 percent of the electoral body has a firm party affiliation.

[Stankovic] What do you think of the impressions that the LP is a "directors' lobby," or a party of directors of the former or the current public enterprises?

[Kocevski] I would not describe this as a "directors' lobby." However, we do not deny that in the leadership, not to mention the membership, there is a large number of noted heads of successful enterprises. We consider this a compliment and not a criticism, and believe that the value of such people should be acknowledged since they have extensive knowledge, capability, skill, and competence, and a great feeling for the changes needed in order to successfully manage their enterprises under the currently difficult managerial conditions. If we had more such managers, I am certain that the situation in the economy would not have been as horrible as it is now.

[Stankovic] The declaration of the SZM calls for "restoring the dignity of parliament." To what extent has the parliament without an opposition regained its dignity?

[Kocevski] The fundamental reasons for establishing the Alliance for Macedonia were agreed upon based on the work of the first pluralistic parliament in the Republic of Macedonia, when we witnessed long sessions and a great deal of wasted effort (as well as the fact that the parliament passed a number of very important resolutions which will be of historical significance in damaging the foundations of the state), plus the fact that this parliament was not up to the level of its tasks. Our purpose was to create the type of correlation among the political parties in a new Macedonian parliament which could lead to a solid majority based on a unified action platform. This solid majority should have assumed responsibility for formulating the reforms and implementing them in the legislative and executive branches. But what happened? Without any planning, the Alliance for Macedonia, regardless of expectations, won a convincing victory in the elections and plunged into the other extreme. Other dangerous consequences of such a development could appear and, indeed, have appeared! Whereas the old parliamentary structure justified itself by claiming that a certain policy could not be implemented entirely—given the correlation among political forces, the small majority, and the strong opposition that occasionally was destructive—now we have a multiparty parliament with a small and, I would say, insignificant opposition, a parliament in which most representatives support the current government. Therefore, there are no representatives to observe and criticize work of the government, i.e., an opposition. This is a very dangerous matter because an opposition is a structural part of democratization. For that reason, there have been trends in our country that lead toward an uncritical use and abuse of power or to the eventual concentration of power in the hands of small circles. For that reason, the LP has called for combined control over the activities of the government and the parliament, avoiding the establishment of ministries that would hold the "control packet" of the power in the state, thus putting this power in the hands of a single political party. Unfortunately, these ideas were rejected, and I think that the consequences of this rejection are already apparent.

[Stankovic] To what extent was the LP's joining in a coalition—the Alliance for Macedonia—and the "hiding" behind the charisma of President Gligorov inspired by the LP's fear of having an independent relationship with the electorate?

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[Kocevski] It is not a question of fear on the part of the LP of independently competing in the elections, but rather of the view that Macedonia could face an even greater danger than the one which existed during the first elections when, because of the correlation of forces in parliament, the drafting of reforms was extremely difficult. The target was to create a majority that would successfully guarantee the implementation of the planned policy. To a certain extent, it is characteristic for a classical liberal party to ally itself with parties having a socialist or a social democratic orientation. This is not all that unusual during such transitional periods. However, usually, problems appear subsequently, as is currently the case among the three member-parties of the Alliance for Macedonia. Lack of understanding, among other things, is also the result of major problematic differences, as well as of the existence of an absurd situation: individual members of our party participate in the work of the government, which has not formulated a platform for joint action.

[Stankovic] At the LP meeting, you described the government as a "balcony built neither in the sky, nor on the ground." To what extent is the Liberal Party to be blamed for such a view and for its "neither fish nor fowl" attitude toward the government?

[Kocevski] I would answer all such accusations as follows: As Liberals, we favor a responsible government that would allow itself to be criticized from within as well from without! I approach matters openly, and I believe that confusing and concealing the real situation offers no solution whatsoever. I believe that the other members of the Alliance for Macedonia have frequently been unable to follow such a realistic approach and pace. I think that what has been happening in Macedonia with respect to the latest actions of the government can only confirm our view that there is always a right time to discuss all problems. Anyone who has the courage to discuss problems openly should not be looked at suspiciously, as though wanting to harm the SZM and the government. We shall be able to achieve something good only to the extent that we value ideas on the basis of the way they are received and not because of their origin. Our ideas and suggestions are as legitimate as those of others.

[Stankovic] It looks as though a "ventilation" of the government is inevitable. How great is the responsibility of the ministers who belong to your party for such an outcome?

[Kocevski] You are referring to the fact that the representatives of the LP refrained from voting for the government, so that today only a few members of the LP participate in the government. However, the very fact that the government includes the two deputy chairmen of our party and a member of its executive committee quite clearly indicates that we cannot surreptitiously distance ourselves from the work of the government. We must discuss openly and specifically which minister has developed what system and what he has been able to achieve during the past period in implementing the governmental program in his area, rather than blaming people on the basis of rumored accusations without any substantiation whatsoever. Some media articles also imply a campaign against some ministers in the government. I believe that, surreptitiously and groundlessly, the worse attacks were aimed at the ministers who belong to the Liberal Party.

[Stankovic] How do you interpret this?

[Kocevski] This is an improper attitude not only on the part of government personalities, but also on the part of some people in the media. We have even seen issues raised "by order" at government press conferences, asking representatives of the government to "inform" the public on what they have been planning. This maneuver quite shamefully shows the way democracy is viewed in Macedonia and the professionalism of some newsmen and it creates a suitable climate for an eventual reconstruction of the government during the course of which the minister "stained" by the media will be smoothly replaced.

[Stankovic] What is, therefore, the influence of LP people on the work of the government?

[Kocevski] According to my information, although I cannot boast of having extensive information apart from that acquired as a result of discussions with the Liberal ministers and their public statements, I could say that they have frequently claimed that, within the government, an individual does not have votes in the real meaning of the term. Their proposals are sometimes rejected, at which point the question arises as to the extent to which the Liberal ministers could be identified with certain measures taken by the government. This particularly applies to the economy, whose minister is Risto Ivanov, the deputy chairman of the LP. Many examples could be cited of the rejection of his ideas and initiatives in macroeconomic policy and in intensifying economic activities.

[Stankovic] In addition to the problems within the government, the delegates to the LP meeting stressed efforts made by the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia, a member of governing coalition] to "appropriate" all key positions in the townships in the country. Bearing in mind that currently the SZM is not functioning, are efforts being made that would support

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the declaration of the SZM that something is happening on the interparty level?

[Kocevski] I can answer directly that nothing is happening on that level! Relations between the SDSM and the LP are interrupted, and this may be the reason for greater misunderstandings. Had there been meetings to analyze the current situation, it is certain that the misunderstandings would not have increased. The very declaration which I asked the meeting to draft was one more effort, perhaps the last, showing the greatest possible effort made by the LP through its personal example, to apply pressure on the other participants in the SZM to take a slightly more realistic look at the overall situation, to surmount the internal weaknesses within the SZM, and to enable the alliance once again to become efficient. Otherwise, considering the tremendous number of voters who voted for the SZM, this could have led to the conclusion that the coalition was merely a maneuver for the sake of winning the elections. Should this be the case, it is certain that in the next election the voters will punish the parties belonging to the Alliance.

[Stankovic] Already in the local elections?

[Kocevski] I do not know how relations will develop in the forthcoming period, or whether it will be possible to find a mechanism to improve relations within the SZM so that by the time of the local elections....however, such a "punishment" could happen at local elections, as well. However, I would perfer that this not happen because those who believe that our people are politically illiterate and have a very short memory are wrong.

[Stankovic] Did you worsen your relations with the Socialist Party when you felt that the two left-wing parties were coming closer to each other to your detriment?

[Kocevski] Relations within the SZM depend above all on relations between the SDSM and the LP because I believe that these are the two political parties that, over the past period, have had a clear idea about the changes which must be made within the Republic of Macedonia—parties that had positive views and knew what to change and how to change it. Let me say openly that, with respect to the participation of the Socialist Party within the SZM, we have had reservations ever since the Alliance was established. Yet, whatever happened, happened. The present misunderstandings prove that even then we were right. We are not concerned with the fact that the views of the Socialist Party are frequently very similar to those of the SDSM since, in any case, these are parties which gravitate toward the left, which the SDSM describes as their "left center." We are concerned by several gaffes which were committed by the Socialist Party on the international level. Despite the polemics we are conducting on the pages of LIBERAL and NOVA MAKEDONIJA, these errors are not recognized by the Socialist Party. Like it or not, the Socialists are unable to realize the consequences of their mistakes in participating in a plan that could harm the Republic of Macedonia. The meetings in Athens and Belgrade and the meeting in Sofia, which were quite extensively attended by members of the Socialist Party, were promoted by the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] and the JUL [Yugoslav United Left]—parties headed by the Milosevic-Markovic pair! Therefore, these meetings were sponsored by parties that do not collaborate with the left-wing parties in Europe and that do not recognize the existence of Macedonia.

[Stankovic] At the LP meeting, you also criticized the "most notorious members of your party." Could you make your charges more specific?

[Kocevski] My work style is what it is, and if its sharpness and objectivity are not liked by some people, this is a different matter. In my party and parliamentary commitments, I am well aware of the situation within the townships, and I frequently agree with their remarks concerning the work of the LP and the problems which they face, particularly internally. For that reason, I could not simply abstain from referring critically to the work of a certain number of members of the LP who seem to ignore the way other members of the highest party leadership or the ministers behave! Neglecting the membership, without whose support and commitment we could not perform our functions, would be, to say the least, inadmissible! Any Liberal, even if he holds the highest possible functions in the state, must never dare to ignore his ties and contacts with the party's membership.

[Stankovic] Are you acting like a "sharpshooter" in formulating such views? The report by Stojan Andov, the LP chairman, mentions "some people" in the part dealing with the SZM, whereas you spoke much more sharply....

[Kocevski] That is your impression. On the contrary, I thought that you were asking me why is it that quite frequently I formulate the official party views. Although there must be a certain amount of party discipline among the representatives, I do not have the feeling that I operate like a "sharpshooter." Perhaps I may be different by virtue of the fact that I have a specific style of speech, which in some cases has been violently opposed by some assemblymen from the SDSM who have hurled verbal threats at me. However, I claim that I have never spoken with the intention of being tendentious or unfair! I cannot blame you for developing such an impression from the meeting of the LP. However, I

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can assure you that my views are very close to those of the chairman and the other members of the party's leadership, particularly now, when the issue has been raised concerning the Alliance for Macedonia. It is clear that there are differences in the way something can be reported in the speeches of the party chairman and in the course of a debate with a party secretary.

[Stankovic] What is the view of the LP about the government's action against crime—particularly the fact that the only conclusion that can be drawn from the total negation of the existence of organized crime in Macedonia during the electoral campaign and the current recognition of its existence is that organized crime did not exist before the past few months, until the Alliance for Macedonia came to power?!

[Kocevski] I can only offer my own personal views when I claim (although the spokesman for the government claimed the opposite) that, in general, the LP was not informed at the start of the so-called governmental action. The fact that the prime minister did not deem it necessary to notify his coalition partners and, in his address to the public, demanded the broadest possible support on the part of the citizens and the information media, is somewhat embarrassing! This is simply inappropriate; it is the old style of work. To me, it is yet another proof that the government is not accurately accessing certain circumstances that exist in Macedonia. I believe that the existing situation is also a consequence of the occasional, useless, "show-off" statements by individual ministers. My personal view is that we should not have been in haste to anathemize the high MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] official who was the first to point out the danger of organized crime since the current information indicates that the man was absolutely right (although he was replaced because of he overstepped his prerogatives). This is the reason for our view on the event at the Hard Rock Discotheque, which we described as the limit. Closing our eyes to this and similar events could be quite dangerous.

[Stankovic] Yes, but the scandal concerning the Hard Rock cafe has already been covered up, and, after the initial reaction, to date the LP has remained silent....

[Kocevski] You know, we are somewhat confused by all these events. At that time, we reacted sharply. We sent a letter to the SDSM general secretary and called for a meeting of working groups from both parties to discuss the eventual involvement of individuals from both parties in blocking any opportunity for individuals who have been somehow connected with that affair from becoming members of the government.... We would like the Alliance for Macedonia to be clean and not leave the impression that, at the time of the elections, we used any means at our disposal. Unfortunately, we were given no answer whatsoever by the SDSM. The accused were, in fact, freed when the charges were dropped. This creates the possibility that, even tomorrow, a group of people may assemble, and using such a impudent method, destroy someone's property and avoid punishment.

[Stankovic] Is it not a threat to the credibility of the government and of the Alliance for Macedonia to speak very loudly about an anticrime project while middle management is being replaced for the strange reason that "the results of their work are unsatisfactory?"

[Kocevski] The government's actions are very illogical. What is very confusing is the fact that the government drew up a program against bribery, corruption, and the gray economy, while the members of the administration of the state are being replaced on the basis of such a strange argument. This is a dangerous action, which strongly smells of olden times, because it is frightening to replace people without any arguments or explanations, particularly since the impression develops in the public that the replacement of these people is part of the action against crime! The people who are replaced may be incompetent or incapable, but this does not mean that they are also criminals! It is even more frightening that, without the possibility of defending themselves, the people are replaced on the basis of directives, while the prime minister retains the exclusive right to report this fact to the public. I was assured by several ministers, not just Liberals but also Social Democrats, that they did not have the slightest notion concerning such replacements, and these changes took place within their areas of responsibility. I am convinced that the LP will support any serious action against crime. However, it is illogical to set up some kind of preventive commissions because, in an organized state and a modern democratic society, we know that the institutions of the system oppose harmful manifestations within society, institutions such as the police, the prosecutors, the inspection authorities. etc.

I believe that it is extremely contradictory that, in some ministries, a high percentage of the ministerial personnel were replaced without any consequences. If the government wants the citizens to believe sincerely in its program, it must begin by cleaning up its own backyard. One can frequently hear about the connections which some private companies (whose owners are active officials or functionaries of the Macedonian government) have with the spending of budgetary funds, and particularly those funds under the rubric designated organs of the Republic! The people involved in dishonest deals within the government, or in close cooperation with the government, must bear the consequences, naturally after extensive explanations. Otherwise, the public will

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develop the view that the people were replaced without any reason; that within the government, without anyone assuming any kind of responsibility, there are people about whom it is known that—given the absence of a law on public orders and procurements—without any public competition, their companies have been supplying all areas of the government and the parliament, providing all the flooring, the inventory, telephone exchanges, and all computers.... On the other hand, I also fear the possibility that people who, during the transitional period, overnight, so to say—something that is inconceivable in the West—have accumulated tremendous wealth in extremely doubtful ways. These are people who would tomorrow assume the position of makers of Macedonian policy, i.e., they would be responsible for our fate.

[Stankovic] How do you access the secrecy with which Macedonian foreign policy is being pursued, an area for which Stevo Crvenkovski, a deputy chairman of your party, is responsible?

[Kocevski] We have no party view on this issue but, at our meeting, the foreign policy of the Republic of Macedonia was rated as successful. The truth is that the public, as well as the representatives who are members of the Commission for International Cooperation, feel that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is too secretive, particularly concerning talks with Greece. The main sources of information about these talks are speculative articles in the Greek press. It is most likely that the leading personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs believed that the talks with Greece were still at a stage that required great secrecy and that informing the public about some strategic and technical elements of the talks would not be useful. However, this does not mean in the least that, as the highest legislative authority, the parliament should be kept out of such issues. I was astonished to see on Macedonian television a program in which three ministers, Handziski [defense], Frckovski [interior], and Crvenkovski [foreign affairs], were guests. They discussed the impact that the events in Croatia had on the political and security situation in Macedonia. My initial reaction, which I shared with the chairman of the assembly, was that since the situation was so serious, the three ministers should have submitted their presentations on this subject at a session of the assembly and inform the public in this way, rather than through some kind of special broadcast.

[Stankovic] Do you not think that this joint presentation by the three ministers on television was really an answer to a previous television broadcast featuring Vasil Tupurkovski?

[Kocevski] We are a democratic and a pluralistic society in which every individual has the right to present his views on current conditions in the state, including the pursuit of foreign policy. It would be proper for this to happen more frequently in order for us to be able to analyze the options and modalities for the resolution of some key issues. It is very bad and dangerous for the public to develop the impression that, in their statements on Macedonian television, the three ministers "responded" to Tupurkovski! This would mean that in Macedonia there still is no democratic environment in which people can express their views without fearing the consequences. The fact that I believe the questions raised by Tupurkovski's speech were forced is an entirely different matter. I do not consider acceptable his views on the elections, which he based on the "reports by the monitors" (although these people issued remarks exclusively of an organizational-technical nature and not concerning the regularity of the election), and especially his views on the even-handed integral resolution of the Albanian issue, which is a thesis that indirectly implies a constitutional amendment! I believe that there is no need for any kind "historical treaty." All problems of minorities should be resolved internally by each country based on international standards.

[Stankovic] Even if we were to agree that omissions at the elections were "exclusively of an organizational-technical nature," how do you explain the fact that, despite the statements made by Risto Ivanov, after the first electoral round, literally no one, after the elections, was held responsible for these omissions, which made us lose face in the eyes of the world?

[Kocevski] On the basis of certain elements, the impression may have been created that we undertook to hold the elections without adequate preparation. Suffice it to say that we undertook the elections on the basis of the old laws, without any new territorial division, applying the old laws governing the election of assemblymen, electoral districts, electoral lists, etc. Such omissions did exist. For example, I was not invited to vote in both rounds. I find it strange that the state was brought to such a situation, knowing in advance that there would be elections and that the proper services of the MVR and the Statistical Institute had to carry out their assignments at the proper time. In my view, anyone who does not fulfill his tasks on time should be penalized. However, unfortunately, in our country to this day the feeling of responsibility has not been raised to such a level. There is a great deal of weakness and lack of responsibility in the functioning of the state administration, in the course of which, considering the lack of a proper system, the discretionary rights of administrators are excessively broad.

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[Stankovic] What has Ace Kocevski gained from politics?

[Kocevski] I have gained a great deal in the sense of contacts, friendships, and meetings with splendid people with whom it is a pleasure to exchange views, and this is personally enriching. I have also benefitted from being in a significant position and from participating in the formulation of policy in the LP and the Macedonian Assembly.... On the other hand, I have lost a great deal of time that I could have devoted to my family. However, any serious activity, such as politics, demands self-sacrifice and self-denial. Politics allows me to have a modest way of life and, unlike many other politicians, it has not provided me with public housing. There was a time when I was also unemployed. I shall remain in politics as long as there are certain ideals for which a man should sacrifice himself. This type of thinking has not become widespread in our country. I believe, however, that a time will come when politics will be considered a profession and when it will be implemented by people who secure their way of life on the basis of their professional political involvement.

[Stankovic] You did not acquire housing as a result of political connections, yet the opposition press is accusing you of living in a house built without a permit.

[Kocevski] This accusation includes a number of lies and disinformation. It is accurate that I live in a settlement which, initially, was not incorporated. After a while, however, an urban plan was formulated, and everything is about to be regularized. We could quite openly discuss this issue, considering that perhaps 70 percent of the citizens in Titov Veles live in areas which were eventually urbanized. So, my conscience is clear. I was in a position to resolve by myself my housing situation, unlike many people who, despite having less important functions, were able to acquire public housing that they subsequently purchased at extremely low prices.

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Military Foreign Department Explained

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[Article by Adam Stasinski: "NATO Membership Is Our Goal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Military Foreign Affairs Department, a civilian-military structure at the Polish Defense Ministry, is known first of all for its activities connected with planning, coordinating, and supervising cooperation with other countries.*

"However, it is not the only sphere of our activities," Marek Krupinski, director of this department, says. "We represent the Polish Defense Ministry at disarmament negotiations and conferences devoted to developing confidence, security, and disarmament measures in Europe. We participate in preparing and implementing events connected with the process of the Polish Armed Forces moving closer to Western security structures, such as the participation of the Polish Army in the Partnership for Peace program and international disarmament programs. We also coordinate events connected with participation of our servicemen in the current and future peacekeeping operations and execute control over the Polish military contingents.

This year, conducting cooperation with foreign countries means continuing increased efforts intended to expand military contacts—first of all, with NATO countries, members of the Visegrad Group, and the rest of our neighbors. We view our cooperation with the North Atlantic alliance as the prime strategic goal of the Polish defense policy and treat it as an element in the construction of a new European security structure. Our striving for full integration with the defensive NATO alliance and good relations with neighbors determine practically all kinds of activities conducted by our ministry in the sphere of military cooperation with foreign countries," the director believes.

"I have been head of the Military Foreign Affairs Department for three years now. It is not very long, but I got to know well my colleagues over this time, and I would like to take this opportunity to share my opinions, which result from my work with large teams of people in the new environment in which I have found myself. The time when I came here was very hot, not only because the temperature was very high (it was this past July), but also because it was a time of significant political developments. The situation in the former Yugoslavia was just one of them. At that time, I noticed the deep commitment of the department's employees, and, on the basis of this, I could make a quick assessment of their competence, professionalism, and availability. I am delighted that this assessment was, and still is, positive, and this knowledge inspires optimism in me every day. I believe that in light of the changes now under way in the military and the Defense Ministry, the civilian-military team, which I have the pleasure not only to command but also to cooperate with, is a good example of our dynamically developing foreign contacts," Director Krupinski said.

For Colonel Kazimierz Gilej, chief of the Planning and Coordination Section, this was not an easy year. The dynamic development of cooperation with foreign countries, particularly its orientation toward prospective membership in European and North Atlantic security structures, required legal support allowing the department to conduct its activities based on the principles making this cooperation more efficient. Emphasis has been put on decentralizing the implementation procedures and eliminating bureaucracy in this process. A new draft of the instruction on planning and implementing foreign contacts has already been devised. If the defense minister approves the revised regulations, they will become effective next year.

Building Trust

The Negotiations Section is the main coordinator of disarmament issues at the Defense Ministry. They concern regional plans (as part of the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE]) and global plans (the disarmament conference in Geneva and the Organization for the Ban on Chemical Weapons in The Hague). "We are in steady and close contact with the Foreign Ministry and the General Headquarters of the Polish Army," says Colonel Wlodzimierz Idczak, chief of the department. "This interaction is very important for us, for example, to determine the Defense Ministry's position on issues connected with disarmament talks. In addition, we oversee the work of military advisers at forums held by international organizations and set objectives for our Armed Forces stemming from the disarmament treaties, conventions, and agreements signed by Poland, as well as see to it that the implementation of those objectives complies with the above documents. Another direction of our activities is cooperation with foreign countries and armies as part of the Partnership for Peace program and the EU integration events, including the Eurocorps. We are now working on the Individual Partnership Program for 1996, a third in a series of documents of this kind crafted by the department, which is also available in English. We are also working on proposals on security issues that are part of the Defense Ministry's long-range concepts, as well as implementing and assessing all relations and obli-

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gations stemming from military aspects of cooperation with NATO, the OSCE, and the EU."

Reduction Commitments

"We are an important partner in activities stemming from international agreements on arms reduction and confidence-building measures," said Wieslaw Koziarkiewicz, acting chief of the Disarmament Control Section. "Let me recall that this year we finished the third, and also the last, stage of scrapping the arms overkill capability. Poland is one of the first states to make good on its CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] Treaty commitments. This November is the deadline the countries that signed that document are supposed to meet in reducing their armies and equipment. We are also satisfied with our participation in the works on the Open Skies Treaty. As part of the tasks that are fulfilled by our department, our officers established cooperation with verification centers in European countries and NATO headquarters. In addition, they observed operational and tactical exercises, conducted training of arms-control inspectors, exchanged information on conventional forces, including the one on the present condition and types of armaments, and, most important, participated in the process of arms reduction as part of the CFE Treaty. This year alone, the department's officers went 24 times to various European countries on inspection missions and, in compliance with the Open Skies Treaty, took part in international observation flights. In the meantime, Poland had 20 foreign inspections," the colonel stated.

In UN Colors

"The currently celebrated 50th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations is also a holiday for our servicemen," Lieutenant Colonel Zbigniew Pluskota, chief of the International Peacekeeping Operations Section, emphasized in a conversation with us. "This year, as in the past, we have executed control over activities conducted by military contingents in the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]), Lebanon (UNIFIL [UN Interim Force in Lebanon]), and Syria's Golan Heights (UNDOF [UN Disengagement Observer Force]). Let me recall that this summer we put forth much effort and spent much time resolving problems of the Polish battalion in Croatia and problems connected with our participation in the international crisis team. The case of our officers held hostage and combat actions near the battalion's deployment place regularly made the front page of the newspapers.

"Let me add that, in compliance with international agreements—that is, with the UN decision—the Polish battalion will leave Croatia. Some ... e cadre officers and servicemen on active service (355 individuals) have already returned home. The last soldier is expected to return to Poland in mid-December. In addition, our observers have participated this year in 11 peacekeeping missions, as well as in UN and OSCE missions. In teamwork with the General Staff, as part of the peacekeeping operations that include events envisioned by the Partnership for Peace program, we organized seminars, lectures, workshops, and, most important, the military exercises 'Double Eagle' and 'Peace Triangle '95.' We also organized an international two-weak seminar, the first in our country, for military observers. Next year, we are planning to improve the selection process for UN contingents and missions. In addition, we will have to revise the present regulations on the participation of our soldiers in peacekeeping operations," Lt. Col. Pluskota said.

Effectiveness and Efficiency of Actions

"Both our foreign partners and the Defense Ministry leadership assess the department based on the effectiveness and efficiency of its actions," said Colonel Franciszek Gagor, deputy chief of the Military Foreign Affairs Department and one of the department's most experienced workers. "This effectiveness was achieved also thanks to results of the work by our representatives at NATO headquarters, the NATO Supreme Allied Command in Europe, the UN Secretariat, the OSCE, and the Geneva disarmament conference. In addition, the Polish mission will soon start working at the Eurcorps Command. Let me emphasize here that, according to opinions voiced by foreign partners, it is the results of work by the department's cadre and its representatives that enabled Poland to move much closer to its strategic goal—NATO membership. They have also intensified and expanded good-neighborly relations with other states," Col. Gagor added.

Walesa on Presidency, Campaign, Plans

WS2410090495 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 20 Oct 95 pp 1, 12-13

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by Anna Poppek and Jerzy Klosinski on 5 October; place not given: "I Am the Father of Solidarity"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] After five years in office, you decided to run for the top state office again. In the meantime, there have appeared several serious rivals on the right. How do you intend to persuade the divided constituency to vote for you?

[Walesa] I was going for a 10-year term in office, not a five-year one, from the very start. Initially, I was

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the only one to anticipate the difficulties and problems that would appear. I therefore stretched the effects and achievements in time. I think the majority of the citizens voted for me with the conviction that I would be president for 10 years.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] You are launching the most vicious personal attacks on candidates from your own camp.

[Walesa] Perhaps we do not read the same papers. I respond whenever anyone steps on my toes. I will not attack anyone, but I will say what I know and protect Poland from various individuals who should not even think about running in the elections.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Before the previous elections, you had 48-percent support. Currently, it is not even half of that. You say the politicians have disappointed you, but most of all it is the nation that has let you down. At the same time, you claim that you have not made a single mistake.

[Walesa] I made the mistake of not seeing to it who stands behind the steering wheel at TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, that I have not prevented the press from writing nonsense. And TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC took the lead in doing that.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] In Kaczynski's [not further identified] time or now?

[Walesa] To this very day. You sometimes publish such preposerous things. I have a right to be indignant because thanks to my strikes the Roundtable came to be. Thanks to my battle and to the fact that it was fought properly you are sitting here and talking to me right now. You will naturally say that you yourselves have fought as well, but, as the father of all this, I have a paternal right, a moral right to be respected. You, the press, publish nonsense about me. You have created heroes who should not be heroes. And the nation bought that. The citizens who listen and read do not surprise me. That is why currently I have to put straight 99 percent of the absurdities that have been written and said about me. Those were vicious lies. The truth is that 99 percent of the people might support me, but do I have enough time to straighten out everything that has been written about me? I was deeply convinced the nation would not believe this, and that was my biggest mistake, because some actually did believe it. That is why the poll results are what they are.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Do you think one of those false heroes created by the media (TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC included) is Colonel Kuklinski?

[Walesa] I fought and Kuklinski also fought; he should be awarded the Cross of Valor. Sometimes you are awarded the Cross and sent back home. That is why we should respect Kuklinski for his courage, but at the same time we must beware of creating more accidental heroes. Someone might work, for instance, for Ukraine, Lithuania, or Germany. If any of those countries wins, that person will become a hero. I respect Kuklinski's courage and valor, but that is all, because the principle that everybody does what he wants in present times, when we have an independent Poland, is disastrous. Besides, I do not have the power to do much for him unless he personally appeals to the president of the Polish Republic to review his case in extraordinary proceedings.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] We think that the decline of your popularity as compared with the previous elections is partly due to the fact that the citizens expect the new president to carry out deep reforms. There are grounds to believe that your reelection would be equal to retaining the status quo. Could you specify which side you will stand on and whose interests you will protect?

[Walesa] Since you began working for TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, you forgot what my motto is. It says: "I will lead Poland toward normalcy." Nothing else; other problems are insignificant. [passage omitted]

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Presidential rule has not been established thus far.

[Walesa] There is a demand for presidential rule, but you journalists, the fourth estate, refuse to admit that the president has to have authority amd then accuse him of not having done anything. This is all your doing.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] There is the threat that the beneficiary of the presidential system would be Kwasniewski if he won the elections. Would the system then be beneficial for Poland as well?

[Walesa] It does not make any difference who the president will be over the next five years; we need a presidential system. Of course, we have to firmly state that we are joining the West and NATO. Today, we do not have any clarity as to where we are going because foolish statements are being made, various discussions are suggested. If things start going in the wrong direction, we will accelerate parliamentary activities. Elections will be held in a year or a year and a half. I do not think, however, that I will lose with Kwasniewski in the running, so I think I will be the beneficiary of the system. I want a presidential system because I cannot bear being held responsible for things I was unable to accomplish even though I wanted to. If anyone raises objections to the presidential system, I

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will not hesitate to point out that people who are against it cannot be president. I am the only one who wants a presidential system because I see the mess, the lack of professionalism, the destruction of Poland—I see that we are incapable of putting things right soon. I am not afraid of responsibility. In the future, once order is introduced in Poland, I will also opt for a parliamentary-cabinet system.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Meanwhile, we are facing the threat that a postcommunist president within a presidential system may take full control of the country.

[Walesa] In a presidential system, the president cannot defy democracy, even if it is Kwasniewski. With me it is easier in the sense that you know where I am going, what my character is, and what I am capable of. We know Kwasniewski from the other, worse side. Of course, I would prefer Kwasniewski were not the beneficiary. On the other hand, I am not afraid of Kwasniewski.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] What groups are you counting on for support in the elections?

[Walesa] I will have the groupings you are thinking of sitting on the sofas in this room. They themselves do not give me much support, unlike the people who stand behind these cadres. I am counting on those who will find my sincerity and my effort appealing.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Will you try to establish a presidential camp if you are reelected?

[Walesa] I will try to do everything I have already mentioned, eliminate lawlessness, oligarchy. I am very keen on having that done. If I get 99 percent of support in the first round, which is rather unlikely, I will demand a presidential system that will enable me to carry out my plans. If I win by a small majority, I will have to attain the same goals through teamwork within the group I will be able to establish.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Mr. President, thus far you have not published a campaign platform. Is it not ready yet?

[Walesa] First of all, we do not know whether we will have a constitution. Second, we do not know what its provisions will be, what the president's prerogatives are to be, whether we shall have a presidential or a cabinet system. Without knowing these things, I should write four platforms. I laugh at those who are presenting their platforms today because they do not know what they are talking about. They are speaking about a Poland on the moon. As a seasoned politician and president, I know what has to be done, but I cannot provide you with the platform you are asking for because there would have to be four platforms.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] What is the motto of your presidential campaign?

[Walesa] There will be a motto and a creed. I will suggest the type of platform I myself would find appealing. It will be largely based on what the nation expects and what I can do. For the time being, let us allow all of the contenders for the presidential office to present themselves, let them ridicule themselves.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Would you be willing to sign a contract with Solidarity in exchange for support of the Solidarity postulates?

[Walesa] That is funny—to make demands of one's father. On the contrary, a father expects his children to be loyal. Making such demands of the president indicates distrust. But, for the sake of peace...

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Perhaps Solidarity will support your candidacy?

[Walesa] It has no choice. If Solidarity does not support me, it will kick the ball into its own goal, just like it did in the 1993 elections. I gave the most to Solidarity, and I will give it the most. Nobody can give it as much because nobody is Solidarity's father. I am and will be. [as published] That is why Solidarity might disobey its father, but it rarely does children any good to disobey their parents.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] What do you think of Solidarity's draft constitution?

[Walesa] I understand that Solidarity is striving for its own security, that it is facing difficulties because things did not turn out as they were meant to. Solidarity is out in the field, where real life exists. It is obvious to me that I will always support it, without any contract, and that I will give more than it asks for. Generally speaking, I approve of the Solidarity projects and am very satisfied with the trends the union is following.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] But the union is waiting for the implementation of specific projects that have not yet been taken up—for instance, mass enfranchisement.

[Walesa] I wish to remind you that I was the first to come forth with the mass privatization project; Solidarity was second. Its project was no worse, even better, of which I am glad. There are no differences, there is no need for any contract. I did not have the power to carry out the privatization project. I would have had it had we gone to the elections hand in hand with Solidarity.

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[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Certain projects have already been developed—for instance, medical insurance.

[Walesa] All of the documents that were prepared have long since been signed. For the time being, there are no ready projects that would allow launching legislative initiatives. I am waiting for a referendum on mass enfranchisement and several other initiatives Solidarity has signaled.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Some of the Solidarity leaders see a threat in connection with the elections: The Solidarity constituency is cleaving into two groups. The majority wants to vote for you. The second group, more extreme, supports Olszewski. What should be done to prevent a split within Solidarity in these elections?

[Walesa] They support Olszewski because he said that once he stops being prime minister he will be able to look people straight in the eye. I would say: "Man, you fouled up the decommunization process and now you have the cheek to look people in the eye." By fouling up the file-review process, Jan Olszewski did the communists and agents the biggest favor of all. I do not even know if decommunization is at all possible any longer. Ask him what the Polish Republic would have looked like the day after he put the files on the table. The president was hit by the fools and sinking. The Sejm was hit by the fools and sinking. The Senate was hit and sinking. The government was dissolved because it got a no-confidence vote two days earlier. It did not have the slightest chance for survival. I simply speeded up its collapse after I saw what they had prepared within the file-review process. That was a real danger, a threat to Poland. I wanted to hold back those madmen. It could have been different had they listened to my advice. That advice would have to be modified now. The whole operation should be carried out in three stages. First, it has to be established how the decisionmakers and political parties of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] are to account for the past. They would have to be divided into several groups: the 1940's and the 1950's—the Russians in their tanks, the traitors who came to Poland. And then all of the concessions that were made up to the Roundtable talks, which were in fact negotiations held with the communist rulers. The second group is made up of the support cadres on the communists' pay lists: the secret police, the Security Administration [UB], which was paid with our tax money, which prosecuted us and saw to it that the regime stayed fixed. They should be called to account on different principles. The third group comprises the victims of the old regime, forced to collaborate by blackmail, threats, and similar methods. These are all the "Boleks" ["Bolek"—name Walesa was allegedly known under as a secret agent]. From what I know, it seems that 90 percent were blackmailed into collaboration. Further categories have to be differentiated within this third group. Why was a given individual blackmailed, what did he do, did he snitch, why did he snitch? And no names. Only the categories, each category matching specific circumstances. This way everybody could be held liable. But the file-review process was messed up. [Former Interior Minister] Kiszczak destroyed many documents; it is no longer possible to catch the key agents. Yet we must go on with this all the same.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Let us talk about the agents for a while because this is an issue that continues to cause emotions to run high. Krzysztof Wyszkowski, your colleague from the independent trade unions, recently published an article in which he raised doubts about whether someone whose connections with the secret services have not been explained can be president of Poland. He had you in mind.

[Walesa] This is sheer madness; these people are sick! He wrote complete nonsense. The secret services framed me. They forged documents. I have no intention of explaining that. Wyszkowski, who fought by my side, is worse than a UB agent because he is writing complete lies. The secret services did everything they could to make us fight from the very start. Now TRYBUNA uses this nonsense to serve Kwasniewski and others. Why do they fight? They know I will beat them anyway.

I was in a tight spot, in the group that shouted "We will help" [reference to question "Will you help?" raised by communist leaders in 1970's]. When they laid their hands on me I did not want to help, but it was 1970. Everyone who fought back too fiercely...just look what happened with the Strike Committee in Szczecin...no one survived. So I had to play the sly fox—do my job and not get caught. When they asked me: "Will you not help? Are you against Gierek [first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party]?" I could not say I was against. But, in the 1970's, none of those detained on the seacoast refused to testify. Everyone signed documents. I checked that, and I did not find anyone who denied it. So I did what everybody else did. I was the only one who talked about this. In my autobiography I wrote that I signed a protocol, that I would not possess firearms, that I would not overthrow the system. That was my mistake. Today they say: Because he signed the interrogation protocol, that means he agreed to collaborate. No, there was and is no collaboration.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] As president for the second term, would you attempt to have the PRL archives opened to the public?

[Walesa] Of course, I would—as soon as possible.

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[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] But [Interior] Minister Milczanowski continues to guard those archives.

[Walesa] As for the issue of the documents, the truth is that 90 percent have been destroyed. Only those that Kiszczak wanted to remain were kept. Our people reviewed them, and they found so many forgeries that going into this would be politically hazardous. Unless we do something about this, unless we straighten the whole thing out, secret agents and traitors of the homeland will continue to play out this element for the next 50 years. Anything can be forged today. Before one even has a chance to explain everything the elections are over. That is why this has to be kept out of the rivalry. Wyszkowski and other maniacs continue to fight. Historians and lawyers must investigate the issue and precisely assess the credibility of these materials.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] As the future president, what do you see to be the top priorities for the country?

[Walesa] There are four dimensions, four planes depending on what life brings. I, the president, have the motto of leading Poland toward normalcy. I do not know what else I will have to do.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Let us assume that the current parliament continues to exist for another year and a half, the National Assembly passes the draft constitution, and the current stalemate continues.

[Walesa] If I win in the first round, I wish to state loud and clear that I shall overthrow this parliament.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] How?

[Walesa] Simple. The Constitution provides that the nation is the top authority. I am telling the nation: If you elect me in the first round, this parliament must dissolve on its own. They should understand there cannot be two platforms in Poland. The coalition has a different platform, I have a different one, and we must have a uniform government in Poland. Ladies and gentlemen, you must dissolve on your own if you trust in the Constitution. If not, I shall appeal to the nation: My dear nation, you elected me but those elected earlier, those from the previous epoch, are not giving me any room to act.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] The likelihood, however, of your winning in the first round is small. Neither is there any guarantee that you will win in the second.

[Walesa] If I barely make it to the second round, I will continue to do more or less what I have been doing thus far, only by different methods. I will construct a bloc capable of taking over power, or at least balancing it. I will gather the strength and means to have the parliament dissolved, but I will persevere to the very end because the nation left me no other way out.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Will this bloc consist of a fortified "right leg"?

[Walesa] I am a declared rightist, and nothing can change that. I shall voice my platform, and anyone who joins me will find a place for himself. We shall formulate 10 points, for example, and with each party I will agree how many of those points we agree on. We have to overthrow the communists in the elections. Therefore, everyone who wants to overthrow the communists and the whole system should join forces, but this is the only binding element. Once the system is overthrown, everyone would go his own way.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Does that mean this will be an anticommunist bloc?

[Walesa] A bloc of proper development. The communists are not in my way. Only offenders are in my way—communist offenders, in particular. It would be a bloc against offenders, against agents, established with the aim of settling accounts with the past. I have to create a situation in which the parliament will truly reflect society. If 99 percent of Poles are Catholic, 95 percent should be representatives of the Christian rural communities, Christian electricians. All together, we shall reintroduce order in Poland back to normal. Yet the farmers will till their field and the workers will till theirs. I will not support everyone completely. With one party I might have 10 points in common, with another five, and with still another just one, just for the time of the elections. That is, by the way, what I suggested to Solidarity in the 1993 elections: All right, so you do not like Walesa, but we are going to do this campaign together, otherwise communism will win. The very next day you [the union] pack all your belongings and start marching against Walesa. I have made my offer three times in public to [Solidarity Chairman] Krzaklewski and the whole National Council.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] What do you think the ideal government would be? Should Olechowski head it as prime minister?

[Walesa] I want to retain the principle that whichever party nets the most votes in the bloc should field a prime minister. The president, however, should not be forced into approving one candidate for prime ministership; at least three should be presented so that I could have a choice. The prime minister forms the cabinet; if they cooperate with me, the president can see to it that the ministers will not be his enemies. Otherwise, it would be bad. I will have the final word in establishing the bloc, but I cannot take full responsibility for it.

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[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] You have never explained your concept of NATO II. Time has shown that, in a sense, you were ahead of the times, considering we are currently between Russia and NATO and that our membership in the latter is being delayed.

[Walesa] Of course, I have always been ahead of the times, and my concept was ideal. They do not want us in NATO; therefore, there is another path we must tread under NATO's care and supervision. The Partnership for Peace project, which the United States came up with later on, is a very similar concept, with the difference that it provides a place for Russia. I would not prevent Russia from entering. I only assumed that Russia is all right provided it hands over its nuclear arms for joint supervision and signs a human rights declaration. NATO II was to be an alternative to joining NATO. UN forces could have been established, to which each state would have delegated one military peacekeeping division. Yugoslavia would have thus not fallen apart, and we could be currently constructing a joint Europe. A similar solution is still needed, only now the concept would have to be modified because things have changed.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Mister President, you said that the second term would be far more difficult and dangerous than the current one. If you are reelected, where would you see internal threats? In the emergence of an oligarchy or in the fact that certain communities may grow more extreme?

[Walesa] Everywhere, here and there. The biggest threat, however, is external. When I do become president, I must lead Poland safely into NATO and the EU, even though there will be "grumbling" from the East. If someone does this wrong, at the wrong time or inefficiently, he will have a lot of problems.

Problems may also ensue in Poland because the system we began building in 1989 will be in place, with all its advantages and disadvantages. There will be the group you spoke of. Within this group, some amassed their property legally, others got it illegally. The former will operate properly, but there will already be differences in material status and clashing interests. People will come to a plant and only German or French will be spoken, no one will be able to communicate in Polish. They will start to wonder who Poland belongs to. That is when problems will set in, dangers even. Mass privatization has to be carried out to prevent oligarchy. There is one more thing: Once I do lead Poland into the EU, the same regulations will come into effect in our country. Those regulations say that, if a house is put up for auction, it has to be sold to the highest bidder. The French, the Americans, and the Germans will bid higher. If the assets remain in the hands of the state, various swindlers will sell us out standing [as published], and there is no way this could be explained to the nation. That is why we have to privatize so that everyone can protect his own piece of Poland.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] How are you financing your election campaign?

[Walesa] Money is needed to gather the signatures. I got them. More money is needed so that I do not get cheated in the elections. I would have been cheated if there were three candidates, but, because there are 17, I do not have to watch out because they are keeping watch on each other. I do not really need money. I do not have to show my face because everybody knows me. Money will, however, be collected for Walesa and for the Poland I am going to build together with my bloc.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] What will you do if you lose the elections?

[Walesa] Wrong question. You should rather ask what I will do upon leaving office in five years. I am the only one who has no other choice but to run because I believe the next term will be even more difficult than this one. A serious conflict of interests will set in. Perhaps even shots will be fired. But the case will be closed, there is a proprietor and that is final [as published]. It will therefore be very hot. I do not think any of the candidates within the very large group are capable of dealing with that.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Are you the only one who can deal with it?

[Walesa] I do not know whether I can manage. I only know that, if I packed my bags right now and then someone else were unable to cope, people would say: You sly old fox, you took Poland apart, you dismounted, now you have put your money in the bank and are laughing at us. That is why I have to run. I cannot flee from the battlefield. I am the only one who is fighting to win to the very last second. But if I do lose, I will not cry.

On Support, Chances

WS2310153695 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Oct 95 p 5

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Tomasz Wolek, Jerzy Wysocki, and Piotr Zaremba; place and date not given: "I Did Not Want To Be Kim Il-song"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY] ZYCIE WARSZAWY published a report from the gmina [smallest administrative unit] of Leoncin, where five years ago as many as 72 percent of the voters voted for

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you. Here is what Leoncin residents are saying today: "We and our families voted for Lech Walesa because we thought that things would be better. Meanwhile, under Walesa, Poland went down the drain. Even during communist times the situation was not as bad as it is now." Perhaps such views are quite common not only in Leoncin?

[Walesa] I did not pay sufficient attention to the media because I was busy doing my work. At that time, others were showing even their smallest achievements to everyone around them. This is why people think I have not achieved anything. I would like for that gmina and for you to finally see how much I have accomplished.

I have failed, to be sure, to implement some slogans, such as the "100 million [zlotys]" idea, "driving [offenders] out in their stockinged feet." That is true, but what happened during that time? The German Democratic Republic ceased to exist, Czechoslovakia split into two separate states, and the Soviet Union into over a dozen states. We were tied to all those countries for a few decades; we were tied by cooperation, common work, goods. All that broke down, and people do not have to know about all that. We spoke about politics, about battles, but not about this.

The press, which has broken free, is choosing the easiest way out because it wants to make money. For this reason, the image Walesa has among the people is false. Please come to my meetings, gentlemen. When I provide my explanations, they say: "Oooh, well," and this "Oooh, well" is so great that my ratings go up from 72 percent to 98 percent. I guarantee that I can receive up to 90 percent, if only I show my work and expose those who wickedly undermine my achievements. [passage omitted]

Once again, my advice was not taken. You are bound to ask me about the strengthening of the left leg. Here is my answer. It was not I who strengthened it. I warned against this left leg. I told [political] parties: Go run in the elections together. Then you can leave Walesa alone, but now we should be together. I wanted to win Solidarity ["S"] over to this idea in Zielona Gora. Unfortunately, I was invited to the very end of the congress, when most of the delegates had already left.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Perhaps these problems stemmed from the fact that you did not make any effort to gain the support of any political camp. Early in your term you had such a camp.

[Walesa] I did not want to play politics. I only wanted pluralism. I did not want to be Kim Il-song. I f I had wanted to set up a new monopolist "S" camp...

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Why talk about Kim Il-song? You could have been another de Gaulle, who has established his own strong formation. He used it to implement his concepts.

[Walesa] Poland must have 20 normal years, and this cannot be achieved without a fight. Everyone must quarrel with everyone else. This is where I am heading, but I have cut myself off a bit from the media. This is why you do not understand my hard work and my intentions as you should. [passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You are predicting the end of the Robin Hood type of presidency. What does this mean?

[Walesa] Robin Hood is a president without a political base—he is strong and wise himself. This is no longer sufficient. It is necessary to seek agreement with parties.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] In 1993 you set up the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], a weak party that only stood in the way of other Solidarity groupings in the elections.

[Walesa] I did not want to set up anything at all at that time. BBWR was a name for all those who supported reforms. I submitted this idea for the first time at a session of the Suchocka government. Let the parties that support this government run together. I wanted this because I knew that otherwise we would be defeated by the old forces. My proposal was turned down, so I put it into effect in a different manner, because I had to rescue myself. I also proposed that "S" run together. All in vain. [passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] On your campaign staff, there are no well-known names, no political authorities.

[Walesa] If the authorities were there, would they help the cause? In Warsaw they might help. But outside Warsaw people would say: "Well, well, they are lining up already." Meanwhile, young people are coming, a new force. This force will blow the old away. People are very enraged at old names.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You tried to obtain the support of "S" and the church rather than political parties.

[Walesa] Political parties are insignificant. I did not try to win their support. It is the people, not parties, that elect a president.

Now, as to the church, I am simply a believer, I want my policies to be based on the Ten Commandments. If our policies are based on leftist ideas, everyone will be breaking the law because such will be the morality. The main thing will be not to get caught. Every person will have to be accompanied by a tank and 20 guards.

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In this sense, I am worried that Christian values are not playing as big a role in Poland as they should. However, these are not attempts to gain the support of the church. [passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Who might be prime minister after the parliamentary elections? Andrzej Olechowski has presented his candidacy already.

[Walesa] As things stand, he would probably take that office, but I do not yet know what all those parties will want. Because the Robin Hood-type presidency will cease to exist, my decision will be important, but not the most important.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Who would be the foundation of your administration? People in the Christian-National Union? The BBWR? "S"?

[Walesa] Its foundation will be the Patriotic Camp, which is being set up. After the elections, others will join it because they will have lost. I will have to help almost everyone, with the exception of the left wing; I am not interested in it. I do not want to establish a party. All I want is political balance.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Who would you vote for if you were not running?

[Walesa] There is no such possibility. I am the only candidate who has the experience and a concept. As the only one among 40 million Poles, I must run in the elections because I predict a difficult term.

A person [reference to Gronkiewicz-Waltz] who has to visit a hairdresser will not be able to control things. It will be necessary to keep a 24-hour vigil. If I were not running, people would come to me and say: You have your own business, you have money, and what do we have? [passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Who is your most dangerous rival? And who would be the biggest disaster?

[Walesa] No one is dangerous. Nearly anyone out of 40 million people can be president. And there are many people who are wiser than I am. However, only Walesa had a five-year term. He was in battles, he got punished for a joint fight, learned a lot, and the West knows him. I cannot just ignore all these advantages and leave. You people can use them. [passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What will you do if you lose? Would you repeat "S"?

[Walesa] I will do anything for Poland. I will break up the communists. We have given them time to purge themselves and to admit their guilt, but they did not do this. I would prefer to work less. But different work has to be done, I will do that as well. [passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You will be elected to the second round of the elections along with Kwasniewski, and many people will vote for you because they will feel compelled to do it. The voters of Olszewski, Gronkiewicz-Waltz, and Kuron will believe that you are a lesser evil.

[Walesa] Go outside Warsaw and see how many people come to my meetings. Only the pope could compete with me. Only people in Warsaw say: a lesser evil. People in Poland believe that I was not in a position to do more than I have done.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Will you really win those people over to your ideas? In the first round they will support Olszewski, Gronkiewicz-Waltz, and Kuron because they do not want to vote for you.

[Walesa] They will certainly vote for me. They may not like me. However, they know what I have done for Poland.

Gronkiewicz-Waltz's Election Material Stolen

LD2310152395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Last night, unknown perpetrators broke into the Warsaw election headquarters of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz. According to Gronkiewicz-Waltz's election staff representatives, the burglars stole computer equipment containing election documentation, correspondence, and the texts of her elections speeches.

Kwasniewski 'Will Not Question' Role of Church

LD2310204995 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1756 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Lublin, 23 Oct—Aleksander Kwasniewski said in Lublin on Monday that, if he wins a victory in the elections, "he will not question the role of the Catholic Church in Poland." He added that the proposals for the constitutional provisions "make it possible to build reality free of religious conflicts." He also said that aggressive behavior at his election meetings constitutes only a very small margin.

When asked about his attitude toward the church if he wins the elections, Kwasniewski said that he has never questioned, is not questioning now, and would not question the place and role of the Catholic Church. However, church-state relations are to be regulated by the proposed constitutional provision, whose author is Tadeusz Mazowiecki, which dispels all doubts and suspicions and which will make it possible to build reality free of religious conflicts, he said.

When asked how he is going to handle people who are now protesting against him in an aggressive manner,

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Kwasniewski replied that "it is a very limited margin of aggression." "I do not think it is impossible in a democratic country to cope with such threats. Most people want normality and do not agree with such methods; they want dialogue and not shouting and conflict," he said.

During Kwasniewski's rally, which was attended by several thousand people and which was held in the largest sports hall in Lublin, there were scuffles between the security staff and several dozen young men who tried to cause a disturbance. A group of young people carrying a banner "The National Right" first shouted anticommunist and anti-Semitic slogans and later forced their way inside the hall. The security staff used force to remove them. Several people were hurt. Some of them had their identity documents checked by the police.

Promises Constitution Next Year

LD2310215995 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] presidential candidate, has said in Lublin that, if he wins the elections, he will make sure that the new constitution is passed next year in a national referendum:

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] I think that an effective president is someone who will finalize the constitution—Poland will adopt a new constitution in a national referendum. Second, he will make sure that legislation is adopted to reform the social security system. This legislation should come into force as of 1 January 1997. Third, he will prepare a plan for reforming the health-care system in several stages. These changes should be started as early as 1996.

If the president does these three things, helps the procedure instead of issuing vetoes, and helps create this legislation, there will be enormous progress.

If you add the local administration reform and reform of the economic center, 1996 could prove that we are introducing changes, deep changes, and changes for the better. [end recording]

A group of more than 30 men, mostly young, tried to disturb Aleksander Kwasniewski's election rally. They shouted: "Down with the commies!" and "Bugger off from Lublin!"

Envoy to Israel on Polish-Jewish Relations

WS2410104495 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Sep 95 p 7

[Interview with Polish Ambassador to Israel Wojciech Adamiecki by Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk; place and date not given: "Against Simplifications"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kolodziejczyk] A year has gone by since the previous Polish ambassador to Israel left. It was not easy to find a person who would receive the approval of the government, parliament, and president. What arguments weighed in favor of your nomination?

[Adamiecki] The change of government that took place in Poland when my predecessor, Ambassador Jan Dowgiallo, was about to end his mission in Tel Aviv most certainly did not make the selection of his successor any easier. It was also important for the future ambassador to be a person known to at least part of the Jewish community and be perceived by it as credible.

[Kolodziejczyk] Are you referring to your four years of diplomatic experience in Washington, D.C.?

[Adamiecki] No doubt the fact that I was responsible there for relations with the Jewish diaspora can be linked to my nomination. I established contacts at the time with influential Jewish circles and organizations—the World Jewish Congress, the American-Jewish Committee, and B'nai B'rith International.

[Kolodziejczyk] It has to be admitted that emigre Poles cannot get along equally well with each other, or get organized, not to speak of forming an influential lobby. What, in your opinion, explains the strength and importance of Jewish organizations in the United States, and how do they perform their role?

[Adamiecki] I would not like any of the remarks made in this context to reinforce the beliefs held by some of our countrymen—that Jews rule the world, that they are all-powerful and ever-influential.

They are undoubtedly well organized. They are also capable of acting for the good of their diaspora and the State of Israel. The experience of fascism and the Holocaust has caused present democratic states to accept the important principle that the attitude taken toward the Jewish question and the Holocaust by the state, society, and individual has become one of the primary gauges of democratic culture in the contemporary world. What it means is that an individual, society, or state that does not have a clear position toward Jews, in the spirit of tolerance and regular coexistence, will not, in today's international community, deserve to be called a partner and democratic state.

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[Kolodziejczyk] Did American Jews willingly agree to contacts with representatives of the new Poland?

[Adamiecki] I am surprised how, irrespective of their political affiliations, Jewish organizations were open to our initiatives. All of these organizations favorably greeted the changes that had taken place in our country after 1989. Jews also noticed a change in our country's policy toward Israel. The decision made by the government of Prime Minister Mazowiecki to help the emigration of Russian Jews via Warsaw airport with the services of LOT, Polish airlines, was an expression of the changes that had occurred. This decision has been kept in memory to this day in both Israel and Washington. In 1991, President Lech Walesa made a productive visit to Israel, and, after that, the Polish Episcopate directed a pastoral letter to Polish Catholics on the subject of attitudes toward Jews. This letter was written under the influence of John Paul II, the pope from Poland, who coined a phrase that put order into the relationship between Catholics and Jews by calling them "our older brothers." These facts had an overarching influence on the relationship between our states and the relationship with the Jewish diaspora in the United States.

During my stay in Washington, I did not meet a person who was prejudiced against Poland. I can say that I met many people carrying inner wounds as a result of their war experiences. These were usually experiences in which Poles played a negative role and that were suffered personally or shared by close family or friends. This is why I regard as harmful the view held by many Poles that we are disliked by Jews. It is unfair, prejudicial, and downright false. I believe a cultured, educated, and conscious person should refrain from making such generalizations.

[Kolodziejczyk] I am afraid we will rather multiply the number of misunderstandings if we deny the fact that there is prejudice and that it runs pretty deep on both sides.

[Adamiecki] Polish-Jewish contacts at the level of political elites do not carry negative emotions with them. Anyhow, there are far fewer of them than one would expect.

The problem is to bring this atmosphere and openness down to broader strata of society. I admit that at this level there is a lot to be done on the Jewish side. This negligence can be tied to the fact that, as broad estimates show, almost half of the Jewish diaspora living in the United States can trace its roots back to Poland. They are people who have survived the Holocaust or whose families lived in prewar times in our country and whose experiences were bad.

[Kolodziejczyk] Are they not, in doing so, erasing an important stage in their history, in their identity?

[Adamiecki] Jews have an ambivalent attitude toward Poles. They combine love with resentment, often love with hate. Many have aquired a strong sentiment for Poland. Let us remember that the land we live on—that is, our homeland—was also a homeland for Jews. After the Nazis murdered 3 million Polish Jews in our country, those who survived or their relatives lost their piece of land, their homeland, and their cultural monuments. They lost their world. Suddenly, after what Germans had done here during the war, Poland became a large cemetery for the Jews.

Their attitude toward Poland can therefore be closely linked to two facts: 1) to the centuries of Jewish presence in Poland, their tradition, culture, and economy, which they created together with us; and 2) the tragic fact of the extermination carried out in Nazi concentration camps.

These two facts, the awareness that we had lived side by side coupled with the memory of the extermination create a syndrome that is the source of both positive and harmful opinions about Poles.

On the other hand, from my experience during my diplomatic mission in Washington, I can see that what is most important for the Jewish side is not the fact that, in Poland, too, there were signs of anti-Semitism from the 19th century to Father Jankowski's statements. Jews are well aware that similar, and frequently even more serious, wrongdoing occurred in many countries all over the world—not only in Germany, Russia, and Ukraine, but also in France, Spain, and even the United States.

[Kolodziejczyk] What, then, is the essence of the Polish-Jewish problem?

[Adamiecki] They would like us to be ready to admit in a frank and open discussion that anti-Semitic manifestations have occurred, that we are sorry about them, that we are somewhat ashamed of the schoolroom segregation, of the Kielce pogrom in 1946, the anti-Semitism in 1968, and some statements made by Poles about Jews and the Jewish state. They resent the fact that we lack self-criticism and are not critical of our history. Jews do not expect us to be talked into believing that we are in any way responsible for the Holocaust or that we should feel collective responsibility for the foulness and atrocities that occurred. They expect us to retain a memory of what happened to them and that we demonstrate an impulse of protectiveness in relation to those who, while they were here with us, were also a minority, and thus in a situation worse than our own. If, during the occupation, an informer who lived next door to me used

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the situation to gain financial advantage by denouncing Jews, pilfering or extorting money from them, and, after they ran short of it, turned them into the hands of Germans, then I, who have never done that and whom nobody suspects of havingh done so, should at least feel a little embarrassed by the situation. It is not that I ought to publicly show remorse. Nobody in Washington ever expected this of me.

This, I believe, is one of the reasons the Germans have better relations with Jews, though there can be no comparison between what Germans did to the Jews and what Poles did. Yet, the Germans have, in essence, gone through a process of deep expiation.

[Kolodziejczyk] Don't you think this continues to be a highly emotional attitude? And that is not a good sign for the honest discussions we need in the future. For those discussions to be held, attempts to rationalize the attitudes of both sides are necessary. Most Poles have, for example, undertaken such an attempt in relation to Germans for the Nazi war crimes toward Poland and Poles during the occupation.

[Adamiecki] We can see that Jews have also made some attempts at rationalization. But first we ought to understand how they relate to the Holocaust. The enormity of evil suffered from Nazi Germany became an unimaginable, unintelligible reality for them. This is why the same questions appear over and over again: How could it all have happened? How was it all possible? And because there was no easy answer to this, for many their relation toward the Holocaust has remained an emotional one.

It is only with time and the involvement of intellectuals and academics— sociologists, historians, and psychologists, who have probed the nature of Nazism and analyzed the very process of the Holocaust—that a need developed for rationalizing what had happened.

[Kolodziejczyk] An analysis of the process of the extermination of Jews ignoring the general context could cause much harm and, in a sense, already has.

[Adamiecki] I agree that rationalizing the Holocaust ought to be supplemented by knowledge of the situation that Poles were also subjected to on Polish soil. The Jewish community is either completely unacquainted with this knowledge or continues to be, to a large extent, unfamiliar with it.

[Kolodziejczyk] In an article recently published in RZECZPOSPOLITA, Jerzy Jastrzebowski cited statements from a number of prominent Jews. The message these statements convey is so critical of us that the question inevitably comes up whether this is due to ignorance or, rather, ill-will.

[Adamiecki] A number of publications have lately appeared disputing some of the views on the Holocaust held by Jews, notably that it was not by chance that Poland was chosen the site for extermination, which is in itself a monstrous fallacy. The extermination was carried out on this soil because the German occupier made a rational decision about the choice of site: Poland had the largest Jewish population in the world (which speaks well of Poland and Poles), there were convenient facilities for transport from all directions, and it was rather sparsely populated, thus a convenient location for building extermination camps. These are just a few of the arguments, but if they are left out of the discussion, the Polish-Israeli polemics will always miss the point.

[Kolodziejczyk] What is the reason, in your opinion, for Jews not preserving a good memory of the times when Poland was the old country to many of them or their fathers?

[Adamiecki] First of all, I would like to caution against making sweeping generalizations.

If, for instance, we were to sit a simple man who had lost his entire family and was the sole survivor next to another Jewish person in the same condition but who happened to be a historian, an educated man, we would hear two different stories.

The intellectual would remember that, in occupied Poland, a death sentence hung over those who offered help to Jews. He would remember the 1,000 years of Jewish history in Poland, that it was precisely here that Jews found shelter when centuries ago they were chased out of Western Europe. He would remember that Jews were granted royal privileges in Poland that were customarily jealously guarded by Polish nobility. And, furthermore, that Jewish communes were able to obtain full self-governing rights in Poland before they were able to do so anywhere else. Finally, in pre-World War II Poland, representatives of the Jewish minority held seats in the Polish Sejm, as Polish citizens of Jewish origin.

Keeping these facts in mind, the intellectual would have a complete picture and would not indulge in damaging oversimplification and generalization. His knowledge of the history of his people in Poland would prevent him from that, as would his knowledge of what Nazism meant for Jews and what it meant for Poles.

Yet, for a person whose reactions are driven by emotions and whose memory has only kept a record of what happened to his family, regardless of whether it was annihilated when evicted from the ghetto by Nazis or as a result of a neighbor—an informer's denunciation, the subsequent arrest and extermination—and has only

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that situation before his eyes and is unable to go beyond the question of why it all happened...

A person like that tends to reach for an irrational answer, which rouses the indignation of us Poles, because we are justly angered by the opinion that Poles were merely indifferent and that that was the main reason for the extermination of the Jewish nation. And there are those who claim that Poles assisted the Germans.

[Kolodziejczyk] Then there are two distinctly different ways of perceiving and two ways of reacting to the Holocaust within the Jewish community.

[Adamiecki] So very different that they cannot possibly meet. So when I read an article from Adam Michnik, who is angered by false accusations leveled at Poles in the Western press, I have the impression Michnik's voice or anyone else's defending Poles against untruth does not project as forcefully as it should because the rationality of an act of defense does not in any way meet with accusations that are irrational or triggered by emotion.

[Kolodziejczyk] How then can broader Jewish public opinion be reached?

[Adamiecki] There is something that, in the rabidness that occassionally flares up in Polish-Jewish relations, is usually forgotten about—namely, that, after 1989, or more exactly, after the resumption of diplomatic ties, a few important and influential people from the Jewish community, both in Israel and elsewhere, began to decisively distance themselves from the notion of so-called inborn anti-Semitism of Poles or, as Yitzhak Shamir put it, the breast-fed anti-Semitism of Poles. [Former] Israeli President Chaim Herzog and Eli Wiesel were among those who repudiated such opinions. Not long ago, Arner Shalev, director of the Yad Vashem Institute of Rememberance, said: "Years ago, many uneducated people could go on repeating that all Poles are anti-Semites collaborating with Germans or calmly standing back while Jews were being murdered. I assure you that this sort of prejudice is now gone. This has changed completely."

[Kolodziejczyk] Does this signal a breakthrough, do you think ?

[Adamiecki] No, not a breakthrough, but a time for mutual dialogue.

[Kolodziejczyk] Are the "important things" in our relations expressed only in the form of words?

[Adamiecki] No, not only. The Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C. is yet another example of the changes in our relations. For the first time, the general public there has been shown Nazi terror in Poland, directed not only against Jews but also against Poles.

The display showing Palmiry has photographs and the tree stump by which executions were performed, not on Jews but on Poles. The museum also exhibits a plaque from the avenue of the Righteous Among Nations with names of those who saved Jews, showing beyond a shadow of a doubt that two-thirds of the names are Polish. And, further, for the first time in a public space of such importance, one that has already become so well known, a very large area has been dedicated to the presentation of "Zegota," a Polish organization set up to rescue Jews in occupied Poland.

To us who know these facts in fairly close detail, it is not such an eye-opener, but to the Jewish diaspora in the United States, these facts were almost completely unknown. I remember that, when a Jewish-American filmmaker made a very accurate documentary film about "Zegota," which was aired in several states by TV stations and local programs, it surprised the American public. How is that, people asked? So there were people in Poland who saved Jews?

[Kolodziejczyk] Then can it be said, 50 years after the war, that there is hope for reeducation?

[Adamiecki] Mutual education is one of the necessary conditions for honest communication between us. It has already started anyhow. I would like to point to results of the textbook committee of Polish and Israeli historians. The truth is that Jewish youth has almost no knowledge of the martyrdom of other nations. It knows, for instance, many details of the uprising in the ghetto, but has not even heard of the Warsaw Uprising [led by the Home Army].

The time has come for the young generation of Poles and Israelis to discover and be aware of the fact that our histories were at times deeply intertwined, so that in some instances it is difficult to separate Jewish history from Polish history.

All the more so because Polish Jews died in all of our major national uprisings, in Katyn, and fought in Polish military units during the war.

Young people need to know that Poland is one of the countries where the Zionist movement developed, though it originated in Austria and Switzerland. The founders of the State of Israel, such as Ben-Gurion, Menachem Begin, and Yitzhak Shamir, had Polish roots, too.

[Kolodziejczyk] Do you see a role for your mission in Israel in the important, though not always thankful, task of reeducation? If so, how do you view that role?

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[Adamiecki] I think that the most important thing will, in fact, be to establish direct contact with the younger generation in Israel. They will shape the nature of our relations in the near future. It is important that they understand that their ancestors' old country should not be associated with resentment or with nothing but cemeteries, but that the roots of Jewish culture and many of their national heroes lie in Poland. I also intend to enter into cooperation with the Israeli school system through the offices of the ministeries of education of both states.

[Kolodziejczyk] Should we assign special importance to relations with Israel, and, if so, why?

[Adamiecki] Primarily because Israel is a country with a dynamically expanding economy, with advanced technology in many of its sectors (the electronics and telecommunications industries, agriculture). Cooperation may well prove very beneficial to us. As is known, the State of Israel receives considerable support from the Jewish diaspora from all over the world. I am thinking of people who have close ties to the world economy, where they play a significant role. Jews are good businessmen and excellent organizers.

It is therefore plainly obvious that the better our relations with Israel, the better the opinion about us will be as a partner to commercial representatives from the Jewish diaspora. And, conversely, the more open our contacts with representatives of the diaspora, the better opinion and relations we will have with the business and political elites of the State of Israel.

It is not possible to maintain good relations with Israel without having good relations with the diaspora, and vice-versa. There is also one other condition: Our relationship with the Jewish minority here within Poland is especially important. These issues are, as we well know, automatically linked to human rights, to the cardinal rules for international relationships. A full scope of rights guaranteed by the state and its protective role toward all minorities, including the Jewish minority, is one of the most important conditions for the international community's full acceptance.

Forum Participants View Banking-Sector Prospects

WS2410121095 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 20 Oct 95 p 12

[Article by Adam Maciejewski: "It Should Be Even Better"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy pledged on 19 October that two or three strong bank groups, with the Bank Handlowy and Pekao S.A. at the head, will be established by the end of the year 2000.

First to be privatized will be the Bank Handlowy and Pekao S.A. The Bank Gospodarki Zywnosciowej S.A. is the second in line. Later, some state-run commercial banks, named by the NBP [National Bank of Poland] in 1989, will join these banks in the privatization program.

The government believes that privatization is the only tool capable of enhancing the power of the Polish banking system, Jozef Oleksy said, opening the Third International Banking and Finance Forum. In his opinion, the concentration of capital belonging to Polish banks is too low. The level of their combined funds is equal to the one of a bank placed 100th on an international ranking list. This deficiency hampers the economic development of Poland, the prime minister said.

Professor Leszek Balcerowicz, the conference program manager, said that privatization does not only mean a change of ownership type. To make this process efficient, the state and its employees should, in his opinion, definitely lose the right to decide. Swollen management boards significantly slow the dynamics of business operations. The professor said that the degree of state involvement in the economy equals the degree of the political nature of the latter, and it is in direct proportion to the influence on it retained by bureaucrats.

Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko admitted that the weakness of the Polish banking sector is very visible and that there is no strategic concept for its development. He pointed to serious shortcomings in Poland's cooperation with other European countries, including those across its eastern border. It is not normal that transactions made by companies from neighboring countries are brokered by a bank located in the United States, Gregorz Kolodko stated. He also said that the Polish economic situation is steadily improving and that Poland is the only country from the European Fifteen that keeps the national budget deficit under 3 percent of the GDP. The minister also said that it is possible that the inflation rate in Poland will be brought down to single digits by the end of 1997.

David A. Mulford, former U.S. Treasury secretary [as published] and currently head of CS First Boston Europe, did not share the minister's complacency. He emphasized that, despite good macroeconomic conditions, foreign investors have not made as many investments in Poland as they have in the Czech Republic or Hungary. In his opinion, one of the reasons for this is the fact that legal regulations favor small national rather than large international investors. Another reason is political instability and the lack of economic analyses by investment banks. Opinions of such banks work better than

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the most appealing advertisement in the FINANCIAL TIMES, Mulford concluded.

Professor Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg, outlined problems currently experienced by our neighbors in the process of the development of the [Russian] banking sector. He admitted that all postcommunist countries managed to conduct a lot of transformations, but they failed to fully introduce market principles.

The St. Petersburg mayor cited the example of Russia, where 2,600 commercial banks sprang up in five years. At present, 72 percent of them have the authorized capital that does not exceed $100,000, and 95 percent do not have a network of their own branches. These banks are not capable of conducting normal operations. They managed to keep afloat thanks to foreign exchange operations in the times of hyperinflation. Now they stand no chance of surviving, he said. Sobchak thinks that bankruptcy of those banks can have disastrous consequences for the Russian economy. The Russian leadership seeks to develop a strong banking system, but not through a revolution or reverberating bankruptcies of financial institutions.

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PRM's Tudor Resigns From Senate Commission

AU2010184695 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the opening of the weekly news conference of the Greater Romania Party [PRM], Corneliu Vadim Tudor, president of that political formation, stated that through the decision to break the political alliance with the PRM, the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] leadership assumed a serious responsibility and opened up the road to chaos in Romania. He added that such a unilateral decision ignores dramatic realities of Romanian society.

According to Coreneliu Vadim Tudor's statement, the major reasons for disagreement between the two parties refer to the PRM's demands to have the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] banned and not to include Recommendation 1201 in the Romanian-Hungarian treaty and, in the Romanian-Ukrainian treaty, the provision by which the sides pledge to have no territorial claims on each other.

On the other hand, the PRM leader called for implementation of the anticrisis program and for solutions to the financial blockage, while militating against corruption and crime, things that in C.V. Tudor's opinion have not been solved by the PDSR.

As regards another issue, Tudor, as a sign of protest, announced his resignation from the Commission for Defense, Public Order, and National Security of Romania's Senate, a fact also marked by the resignation of the three secretaries of state and of the prefect who are PRM members, our correspondent Florin Lepadatu informed us.

Background on Telecom Dismissals Reported

AU2410122295 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 16 Oct 95 p 3

[Report by Radu Calomfirescu: "The PUNR Has Stepped on a Mine"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gheorghe Funar seems to be able to change the behavior of his aides to match his own. The relations of the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] president with the Romanian political class are most peculiar. All the political or administrative decisions and even the simplest statements that he makes produce tides of disapproving comments or, alternatively, messages of sympathy and solidarity. One thing is certain: Nothing that he says or does goes unnoticed. To a certain extent this could be justified by his party's struggle to preserve its identity amid the four-party ruling coalition. But this may be true just to a limited extent, because, unlike the loudmouthed PUNR and PRM [Greater Romania Party], the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor], which never resorts to any noise-making, has a perfectly defined personality. Leading the PUNR seems to be a very complicated job, which cannot be accomplished but by a small group of privileged people initiated in a special way, because otherwise how could one explain the identical way in which the leaders of that party think and act? The most delicate part of the PUNR's relations with the majority party [Social Democracy Party of Romania—PDSR] becomes manifest in how they govern the country. The diplomatic methods that the PDSR is compelled to use are not followed by the PUNR ministers and this causes a large number of problems.

Communications Minister Adrian Turicu (of the PUNR) has given himself away by firing the entire ROMTELECOM [public telephone corporation] Administration Board, including Director General Andrei Chirica, an expert who is not in conflict with the PDSR. The orders were given in the most authentic "Funar-style," as the latter often speaks in the name of his entire party. Neither the government nor the prime minister had been previously informed about the intent to remove him. The measure became effective immediately and seemed to be irrevocable, which even upset the PUNR's allies in the PDSR. Minister Turicu's gesture was just like things done by Funar, who considers the city of Cluj his personal property. The reasons behind this decision belong among the still unsolved mysteries of the universe. The minister's aides claim that this administrative step is perfectly legal, because the ROMTELECOM Administration Board's four-year term, which began in 1990, has expired. However, this is disputable, because the Administration Board appointed in 1990 changed last year, precisely by the appointment of Chirica as its head. Which means that the current board has not been in office longer than one year. Aware of this, Minister Turicu released a communique invoking other reasons. The communique, however, does not bear the logo of the ministry, nor does it have a stamp or a registration number. As if wishing to state that "the ministry is me," Turicu released an unofficial document. Had he not signed it, no one would have known where it came from. That the authorship of the communique does not belong exclusively to him is proved by the fact that its contents were released to the press from the office of Senator Valeriu Suian, a PUNR leader. Probably because the Communications Ministry does not have the appropriate equipment, the minister had to move to the senator's headquarters to make the announcement. The communique that they faxed to the press mentions, as Chirica's principal crime, the total breakdown, in the month of July, of Bucharest's international automatic telephone exchange. The sole problem is that the report

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by the special investigating government commission has not been discussed by the cabinet. Besides being insubstantial, the remaining seven accusations are also inconclusive and, therefore, cannot account for Chirica's dismissal. Besides the accusation that he had mismanaged the corporation's funds, the communique also blames the minister for the fact that 3,000 localities throughout the country are not connected to the telephone network. If this is a criteria, one can already predict that the directors of RENEL [public electricity corporation] and ROMGAZ [public natural gas distributing corporation] are also about to be removed, because there are far more than 3,000 localities in the country that are not connected to either of their networks. In fact, there are many villages that do not have a priest, a midwife, or a policeman, so we suggest that the PUNR compile a list of them and use it to carry out further fundamental dismissals. The PUNR's frantic struggle to penetrate even those echelons of power that have nothing to do with politics originates in their despair that in next year's elections they will rank among the last. Manipulation has to begin starting with the lowest echelons, and the current authorities are well aware of this. The PDSR did not accept this measure by the PUNR and left it to the government, which will meet tomorrow, to take the final decision. Thus, the case has turned into a crisis situation, not the only one inside the ruling coalition.

In connection with these abuses committed by the PUNR telecommunications minister, the Democratic Party Press Office has been authorized to release the following communique:

1. The illegal removal of Mr. Andrei Chirica, general director of the ROMTELECOM Public Corporation, who is a top-class expert, is just another in the series of systematic actions undertaken by the current rulers intended to allow for the representatives of the red quartet to seize all public offices.

2. The fact that, as a result of the determined protests coming from trade union leaders, the press, and the public, the PUNR telecommunications minister felt compelled temporarily to suspend his dismissal orders is nothing but a clumsy maneuver. Actually, the current authorities have not given up their anticonstitutional and antidemocratic desires to seize all the levers of power in local and central public administration, so that it can perpetuate its reign, including by making preparations for large-scale election-rigging operations.

3. The waiver given by the parliamentary majority to the Democratic Party legislative initiative to prohibit and penalize all acts intended to politicize public administration or government-run economic companies confirms the existence of an entire strategy, which is being implemented, to remove all those who do not show obedience to the authoritarian regime, which is being strengthened.

4. The scandal caused by Mr. Andrei Chirica's removal comes to emphasize once more, with exceptional acuteness, the need for all democratic forces and the entire public to work together to prevent the accomplishment of plans that are so dangerous for the young democracy in Romania.

5. The Democratic Party reasserts its solidarity with Mr. Andrei Chirica, a professional of incontestable value, who has been and still is generously contributing to the development and modernization of the telecommunications system in our country, and firmly demands that he should be reinstated and that all attempts to politicize, in favor of the current authorities, all the important decisionmaking positions in Romania should cease.

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Kucan Talks With Clinton, Tudjman, Klestil

AU2310165595 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 23 Oct 95

[Report by Uros Lipuscek from New York]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] U.S. President Clinton held a reception for the statesmen in the stunning New York Public Library last night. Two representatives from Slovenia were invited to attend, namely, President Milan Kucan and Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek. This gesture speaks of the great attention that the Americans are paying to Slovenia. This became especially obvious during yesterday's meeting of Prime Minister Drnovsek with President Clinton, which passed in an extremely positive atmosphere. Namely, Prime Minister Drnovsek was one of only four statesmen whom President Clinton met for separate talks.

President Kucan met with Austrian President Klestil, Croatian President Tudjman, and Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati yesterday.

The Slovene and Austrian presidents concurred that the relations between the countries were improving, which was confirmed by the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the Carinthian plebiscite. Among other things, the Austrian president told Kucan that he had proposed to the Italian President Scalfaro that the Slovene president be invited to a World War I reconciliation ceremony, recently held in Gorizia, however, the Italian side rejected this initiative.

Our relations with Italy were also discussed during a meeting with Croatian President Tudjman, who was particularly interested in the progress of our negotiations with the Italians. As for bilateral relations, Tudjman reconfirmed the Croatian interest in resolving the bilateral issues in a package, which means that the definition of the sea border in the Piran Bay would be linked to a land corridor to the EU countries that Croatia would like to secure via our territory. Tudjman also expressed willingness to meet with President Kucan for a working meeting immediately after the approaching Croatian elections.

Drnovsek Urges Parliament To Pass 1996 Budget

AU2310200995 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by Gordana Pipan: "Budget Surplus for Pensions and Health Care"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 20 October—Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek and Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari presented a budget memorandum and a coalition-coordinated proposal of the 1996 budget, which is not supposed to exceed the envisaged 570 billion Slovene tolars, at an extraordinary State Chamber session today. National Bank Governor Dr. France Arhar and the directors of the pensions and health care funds—which are the two institutions whose losses will be covered by nearly all of the planned budget surplus and whose reform, which is supposed to materialize in 1998, has been discussed for years—also aired their opinions.

"Next year will be a very demanding and important budgetary year on which the future course of the state finances will depend to a great extent. The government will have to take into account various investment priorities defined by the State Chamber's special laws, and there will also be additional burdens arising from the succession obligations of the former country. It is time for Slovenia to start repaying the remaining obligations to the members of the Paris Club and the obligations from the agreement with an international consortium of commercial banks, by which it would fully clarify its financial position and finally shed the negative influence of the former Yugoslav obligations on our present financial rating," Prime Minister Drnovsek emphasized, among other things, and urged the deputies to pass the 1996 budget before the end of the year, thus protecting themselves from the pressures of next year's parliamentary elections.

According to Drnovsek, there is no reason why we should not be optimistic. Slovenia meets three out of five Maastrich criteria for the uniform European currency—the public debt is considerably lower than the European average and, in terms of balancing the budget and the public finances, we stand out considerably in the positive sense from the prevailing standard within the European Union. As Drnovsek said, Slovenia can fulfill the third criterion with the convertibility and the firmness of its currency. There are two criteria left that we do not meet yet—too high an inflation and too high an average interest rate. It is important, Drnovsek said, that we insist on the stability of Slovene finances, which are supposed to become the country's trademark.

There are indications that inflation will, for the first time in 20 years, again be one digit (around 8.5 percent) this year. Next year, the inflation is supposed to settle at 6.5 percent, which was also praised by the National Bank Governor [Arhar] who emphasized that the road ahead only lies in stability. If the exchange rate had not been as stable as it is the inflation rate would not have been as it is either. He also warned that the old exchange rate-price-exchange rate formula only led to hyperinflation. Arhar also warned that the high level of investments that the prime minister also boasted today—supposedly they amount to 22 percent of GDP—

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should find support in considerably higher domestic savings than are the case at present, amounting to 3.2 billion German marks. In the search for alternative sources of domestic accumulation we will, according to Arhar, have to exercise caution. Namely, new credit arrangements as well as direct investments can prove hazardous.

Among other things, Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari emphasized that the realization of the macroeconomic goals listed in the memorandum for 1996 required the balancing of the public finances and did not allow for any public debt. It will also be necessary to relax the cost of the work force. Gaspari also said that the government and the parliament would have to reconsider future financing of pensions and health insurance funds.

The situation in both funds will be worse than anticipated at the end of this year. In the pensions treasury, the deficit will amount to 16 billion instead of 12 billion Slovene tolars and, in the health treasury, to 9.5 billion instead of 7 billion tolars. Apart from this, the government, as Gaspari said, also established that growth of pensions was higher that the average increase of salaries, which is without precedent in any European country.

Law Proposed To Quash Citizenships From 1991

AU2310185795 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 18 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by Majda Vukelic: "Referendum on Citizenship?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 17 October—"Do you support the State Chamber of the Republic of Slovenia passing a law annulling the citizenships of the Republic of Slovenia acquired on the basis of Article 40 of the Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia?" This will feature as a question at a referendum—three more points will be added—if the deputies of the Slovene National Right and the Slovene Peoples' Party manage, by mid-December, to collect enough voters' signatures supporting the demand for the calling of a legislative referendum.

People can fill in a request that the Interior Ministry named "Article 40" and that is stored in the computer network under the codename ZR/006 in the municipal administrative offices from today until 15 December. A support for this demand means that a voter agrees with the State Chamber passing a law that would annul the citizenships of those people who acquired it under the relaxed conditions of Article 40 of the 1991 Law on Citizenship.

In this case, this would mean the holding of a so-called preliminary legislative referendum. This means a referendum that is held before a certain issue is regulated by the law. The initiators in this case propose that the parliament should pass a law that would quash citizenships. If it is passed, approximately 170,000 people who acquired citizenship on the basis of Article 40 would lose it.

If the demand is signed by at least 40,000 voters by 15 December, the State Chamber will be obliged to call a referendum within 30 days, which would be the first such case. There have already been several attempts to seek the voters' support for a certain issue, however, they all ended unsuccessfully, some of them due to legal and formal irregularities and others because the initiators did not manage to convince a sufficient number of people to support their cause. If it proves different this time, a referendum will be held. A majority of the voters taking part in the referendum would have to vote in favor of the initiative for the referendum to succeed, therefore, a simple majority would ensure the success of the referendum.

Miro Cerar, advisor on constitutional matters to the State Chamber, warns that each calling of a referendum requires "a widespread political action in the presentation and championing of any possible legal solution and, thus, also a high degree of responsibility on the behalf of initiators of a referendum and all other protagonists who can influence its final outcome." Namely, a referendum is also an opportunity to present an undemocratic solution to the voters for passing. It can happen that the citizens who do not support a certain option will fail to turn out at a referendum and their abstinence will allow a minority to pass a decision offered by a referendum.

If a referendum succeeds, the State Chamber is bound by its outcome. This means that it would have to pass a law that would annul the citizenships acquired on the basis of Article 40 of the Law on Citizenship. Simultaneously, a positive outcome of the referendum would mean that, within year after its realization, the parliament could not pass a law that would be in contradiction to the results of the referendum nor could it call a referendum on the same issue. The only option left to those who would believe that the State Chamber acted wrongly would be a dispute before the Constitutional Court, which is the only body incumbent to pass a judgment on the compatibility of laws with the Constitution.

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Defense Ministry Purchases Israeli Vessel

AU2410121595 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 20 Oct 95 p 32

[Report by Meta Roglic: "Slovenia Purchases a Military Vessel"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 20 Oct—When asked whether he would decide to purchase a military vessel if he were an admiral in Slovenia, which has only 46 km of coastline, Vice Admiral Donald L. Pilling, commander of the U.S. 6th Fleet, said in an interview for NEDELO:

"It would depend on the defense doctrine adopted by the country. A big military vessel is out of the question. However, you could definitely have a suitable smaller ship to establish an effective defense system at sea."

Evidently this advice can no longer influence the decision of the Slovene Defense Ministry, that is, the Slovene Government. The government at one of its sessions (of course, the part closed to the public) early in the year gave "its blessing" to the purchase of a vessel for Army requirements. The vessel is—according to our information—already being manufactured in Israel and will supposedly sail into Slovene waters next year.

Information about the size of the vessel differs somewhat. According to information from some sources, it is a "bigger vessel." Some quote a length of 50 meters, however, speculation that the vessel is about 30 meters long sound more credible. All our sources supplied identical information on the vessel's speed, which can with some additional "boosting" achieve 47 knots.

Good Intentions

The decision to purchase a bigger military ship (or a bigger vessel for military purposes) caused various reactions among well-informed individuals. We have heard various questions, such as (in light of the current financial possibilities of our country and the size of our sea, which could, according to these experts, be defended effectively from the coast) whether this purchase is really necessary and is the Army at the moment not perhaps in greater need of some other equipment.

There were indications that Minister Kacin is rushing the purchase because it represents the unfulfilled part of a so-called "letter of good intentions" with Israel. Jelko Kacin supposedly agreed on this during a visit to Israel (when he had not yet anticipated becoming a minister), while he was still a representative of Iskra Commerce, and apart from the purchase of the vessel the letter also involved modernization of T-55 tanks (which is supposedly under way) as well as purchase of six Kfir aircraft (according to our information the purchase of these has been halted, that is, the government did not give its blessing, which is allegedly a bone of contention between Defense Minister Kacin and some Army representatives).

Let us also add here that one of the experts pointed not only at the pointlessness of purchasing the vessel, bearing in mind the size of our sea and the financial capacity of our country, but also the unsuitability of the vessel that Israel is manufacturing for us in light of the nature of our sea. This vessel will have a deep keel; however, there are few locations along our coastline where it would be able to dock.

Aggressive Doctrine

Let us now return to the statement by Donald L. Pilling, who, to a question on how he would decide on the purchase of a vessel, replied that this depends on the defense doctrine adopted by the country.

We can read in the military defense doctrine, which the government passed just before the summer holidays, that "coastal defense is an integral part of the Slovene Army intended for warfare on the open sea, in the Slovene territorial waters, or along the coast, and in its hinterland [following passage printed in italics] as well as in enemy territorial waters and along its coast...."

This sentence definitely abounds in internationally and legally controversial implications about which more will have to be said, apart from all other "improprieties in the doctrine."

We only note on this occasion that the doctrine was actually passed half a year after the decision to purchase the vessel and that some connoisseurs here wonder whether this part of the doctrine was not perhaps adjusted to the already signed agreement...

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Federal

Milutinovic: British, FRY Views 'Very Close'

LD2310231095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2246 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic said in London late on Monday that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Great Britain held very close views on the situation in former Yugoslavia and the Bosnia peace process.

Speaking at the close of his one-day official visit to London, Milutinovic described his talks with British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind as extremely good and said they had related chiefly to the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Yugoslavia believes that the peace process has every chance to succeed, but that the hopes for peace might be jeopardised by fresh conditions being set primarily by the Muslim side, Milutinovic said at the press conference held at the Yugoslav embassy.

Yugoslavia takes the view that the basic principles for a peace settlement agreed upon in Geneva and New York in September must remain the basis for agreement, he said.

The principles coordinated at Geneva and New York have laid down the foundations for the constitutional principles of a Bosnia-Herzegovina of two equal entities—the (Bosnian Serb state) Republika Srpska and the Muslim-Croat Federation.

Milutinovic said that the main problem—the drafting of maps for dividing Bosnia—was yet to be solved, and this should be completed in the course of the upcoming talks and peace conference.

Yugoslavia is greatly interested in the holding of elections as early as possible in both entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said and added that there were still those among the Muslims, as well as among the Bosnian Serbs, who do not want peace.

Milutinovic said that, according to Yugoslav views of an international force for implementing a Bosnia peace treaty, it was still not clear what the true purpose and objectives of such a force would be.

If this force will bring the status of an occupied country to Bosnia, as was the case with Germany after World War II, then it would be unacceptable, he said.

He added that it would be a heavy defeat for the international community if the 60,000-strong international force were to go to Bosnia-Herzegovina to fight the local population.

The only acceptable option is for the international force to help establish peace and make it possible for the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina to move freely and resume their normal lives, Milutinovic stressed.

Milutinovic said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considered as acceptable any solution for the Srem-Baranja region (Sector East) agreed upon by the Zagreb government and the region's Serbs. He added that he would not advise anybody, though, to choose the war path in dealing with the problem.

The Srem-Baranja region is the only one of the four U.N.-protected zones predominantly populated by Serbs that the Croatian army has not invaded, after it invaded Sector West in May and Sectors South and North in August, displacing their Serbs.

Milan Milutinovic returns to Belgrade later on Monday.

Milosevic Receives UN Special Envoy Akashi

LD2310150895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic today received Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for former Yugoslavia, and his aides.

During their cordial meeting, which marked the end of Akashi's mission in former Yugoslavia, President Milosevic thanked him for his active and constructive cooperation, and commended him for his unselfish efforts and his objective standpoints when dealing with the protagonists of the Yugoslav crisis, and his efforts to help restore peace in the areas engulfed by the war, and to alleviate the serious consequences of the civil war and the suffering that the war brought on the civilian population.

They both expressed their pleasure that the peace process is on the road to a speedy and successful comprehensive political resolution, and to a peace agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and pointed out the significance of the normalization of relations between the international community and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which represents a firm factor of stability and peace in the region.

Poll Shows Milosevic Losing Popularity

AU2110204395 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Oct 95 (Supplement) p 4

[Report by Tanja Jakobi: "Milosevic-Markovic Pair Is Losing Trust"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] If one could say that in the July opinion poll Slobodan Milosevic was undisputedly

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the most trusted politician with an almost insignificant drop in the percentage of support compared with previous polls, the more than 5 percent drop in two months alone is more than indicative considering the media's insistence on the great successes of our diplomacy under the Serbian president's leadership. On the other hand, the number of respondents who take the view that there is no politician on our political scene whom they would trust has significantly risen. In comparison with the previous polls, this rise is over 10 percent.

This is a summary of the latest "small night poll" carried out by the Mark Plan agency in September. The poll involves a standard sample. Vojislav Seselj, the most vociferous and the most ardent critic of the Serbian president's policies, cannot be satisfied either with the results of the latest poll in which the respondents were asked to state five politicians in Yugoslavia who instill the most trust.

Among the opposition leaders, in comparison with the July poll, Seselj has lost about 5 percent of votes and with 6.1 percent of the votes is in the worst position since July last year. It appears that the Radicals' leader has gone over the top with his speeches, especially with his criticisms of Slobodan Milosevic, his family, and members of the ruling party, and in this way in fact produced a backlash in the public, Mark Plan researchers suggest. On the other hand, the rapprochement of Vuk Draskovic and the ruling party is most probably seen by Draskovic's supporters as a personal struggle for power. Vuk has "halved" the number of his votes since April last year.

Despite the aforementioned declines, Zoran Djindjic [Democratic Party] (first after Milosevic) and Vojislav Kostunica [Democratic Party of Serbia] have retained their positions. Mark Plan researchers stress the fact that Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic has returned to the list (which could be explained by the people's wish that the governor's measures yield results). Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic is also back in the list. The two politicians who recently exchanged sharp words, Mira Markovic [head of the Yugoslav Left and Slobodan Milosevic's wife] and Milo Djukanovic [Montenegrin prime minister], have dropped from the list of the 10 most trusted politicians between July and September. Finally, the reappearance of Dragoljub Micunovic, former leader of the Democratic Party, among the 10 most trusted politicians should not be a surprise, Mark Plan researchers say, because this politician has never been below the 15th place since July 1994.

In the whole list of the most frequently mentioned trusted politicians, Milosevic is still in first place since the frequency of his name being mentioned is still greater than the total score of any other politician on the list. The following facts summarize the general drop in the trust in politicians: In comparison with July last year, Milosevic and Seselj have lost as much as 10 percent of the votes. Djindjic has become "shorter" for some 8 percent and Kostunica for 9.6 percent of votes. Vuk Draskovic has lost 7.4 percent of votes, and Toma Nikolic almost 6 percent. [passage omitted]

Top 10 Politicians of Trust (total for FRY)

Politicians	Percentage
None	29.3
Milosevic	23.3
Zoran Djindjic	7.6
Vojislav Kostunica	6.2
Vojislav Seselj	6.1
Vuk Draskovic	4.1
Dragoslav Avramovic	3.1
Momir Bulatovic	2.2
Slavko Perovic	1.2
Svetozar Marovic	1.2
Dragoljub Micunovic	1.1

Bank Governor Announces Dinar Convertibility

LD2010204295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1827 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Oct. 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic announced on Friday that the dinar would again be convertible.

Avramovic, author of a stabilization program which reduced world-record hyperinflation recorded at the end of 1993 to almost zero in the first half of 1994, said it was necessary to strengthen the dinar and make it convertible again.

The official rate of exchange is still one dinar for one German mark, but the ratio began to change slowly since mid-1994 so that the mark is now worth 2.6 dinars on the market.

Avramovic was in Novi Sad to attend the promotion of two books by prime minister of Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina Bosko Perosevic, a prominent young technologist.

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Central Bank Governor on Voucher Privatization

LD2010125695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1139 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic has stated that privatization in Yugoslavia must begin urgently.

Avramovic proposed that all completed projects on transition and privatization be reviewed in the next several weeks and the best model, one in keeping with the Yugoslav needs, selected.

The Central Bank governor spoke at a promotion of 'project for privatization in Serbia' and 'project for monetary-financial systems in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia' commissioned by the employers' union of Serbia.

Avramovic said the future model of privatization must be as socially fair as possible, so that it would enable a more even distribution of the existing social capital and ensure the economy's greatest possible effectiveness.

The National Bank governor set out that the current economic situation called for a restoration of the national currency's convertibility and the freedom of transactions.

'There is a deep disagreement with those who maintain that the situation for this is not ripe, but there is no such thing as ripe or not ripe situation,' Avramovic said.

He reiterated that the Yugoslav economy was not open due to the international sanctions and that there was no internal competitiveness because of the existing monopolistic structure, as a result of which the country was in an 'internal fix,' as he described it.

The Central Bank governor insisted that the most effective way to resolve the situation was privatization.

Serbia's Minister of Private Enterpreneurship Radoje Djukic said the goal of privatization was to improve the population's living standards and the economy's effectiveness and to increase the Yugoslav economy's competitiveness abroad once the sanctions were lifted.

Although not yet dominant in terms of the capital value and the number of employed, the private sector will this year account for half of the social product, Djukic said.

Prof Dr. Ljubomir Madzar, coordinator of a project for privatization in Serbia, said the project's authors had in mind two models—the voucher model and a model which would simultaneously enable the state to pay back what it owes to foreign creditors, former owners of unjustly confiscated property, pensioners, and the unemployed whose numbers he set out would no doubt rise.

Madzar said he was for the latter variant. He set out that Yugoslavia's external and internal debts were cataclysmic, having reached the figure of 13.6 billion dollars.

'The burden cannot be eased by raising taxes or issuing money, nor can the state stop servicing the due financial obligations if it is to maintain credibility in the international financial circles,' Madzar set out.

Prof. Dr. Milic Milovanovic spoke about the advantages of the voucher privatization and said the particular model had proved very effective in some former socialist countries.

He said privatization was near completion in those countries and urged the introduction of a combined method of the selling and free-of-charge distribution of the social and state capital within a period of six to nine months.

Milovanovic said the advantage of the voucher privatization was its fairness, which he specified was in keeping with the definition of social ownership.

The right of the distribution of social property in equal parts to citizens derives from the equal rights to social property, Milovanovic underscored.

Precise Procedure for Privatization Urged

LD2310122795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1157 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Stocks and Bonds Commission Stojan Dabic has stated that Yugoslavia must define a precise procedure for privatisation with vouchers before it decides to apply it.

In an exclusive interview with TANJUG, Dabic said that the regulations should stay in force for a precisely determined period during which they must not change.

The government will have to decide what type of privatization it will apply: whether all Yugoslav citizens will receive vouchers in keeping with federal laws, or whether each of the two republics will carry out privatisation according to their own regulations, he said.

Another element that will have to be decided in advance concerns the right to receive vouchers, i.e. whether all citizens will be eligible (like in Russia) or only citizens above the age of 18 (like in the Czech Republic).

Privatization through vouchers is considered to be simple, fast and just, but in the case of Yugoslavia its good points may not prove to be an asset.

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A bill on citizenship has recently been submitted to the Yugoslav Assembly and there are still no precise figures on the size of Yugoslavia's population.

After the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, many former Yugoslavs have become citizens of the newly-emerged states but it is not certain that they have renounced their Yugoslav citizenship.

Moreover, many applications for Yugoslav citizenship are still being processed and an unspecified number of Albanians from Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija do not have Yugoslav citizenship.

Since there are no reliable statistical data on the current size of the population of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, an extraordinary census will be held in 1996 or 1997.

According to an estimate given for 30 June 1993, Yugoslavia had a population of 10,481,954, of whom 7,674,605 citizens above the age of 18. The figures did not account for migration after the disintegration of former Yugoslavia.

Dabic said that a Serbian law requiring state clearance for all real estate transactions would have to be changed if the government decided to carry out privatization through vouchers.

If the government opts for partial privatization, it will have to list firms whose shares should be auctioned for vouchers. If loss-running firms are included in the list, then such privatization would undoubtedly fail, Dabic said.

There can be no territorial limits to privatization, meaning that firms based in Belgrade can be bought by all citizens with vouchers regardless of their place of residence, he said.

Serbia

Parliament Not To Debate No Confidence Motion

LD2410141495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 24 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly will not debate a no confidence motion in the government and the ministers of agriculture, internal affairs, education, justice and health during its autumn sitting. The motion was put forward by the opposition parties.

The decision to withdraw the motion from the agenda was made at the proposal of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] deputies' group.

During the debate on the agenda, the deputies rejected a proposal by the Democratic Party deputies' group to discuss the work of the agriculture and energy ministers.

It was decided at the government request that the assembly will discuss draft changes to the housing bill which will extend by five years the obligation to earmark funds for the building of solidarity flats.

GSS Urges Replacement of Bosnian Serb Leaders

AU2110164495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 95 p 4

[Report by I. Kisic: "Serbs in RS Should Change Their Leadership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The Citizens Alliance of Serbia [GSS] demands that the Croatian Army stop all military interventions in eastern Slavonia. This is something that could endanger the entire agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina. If the army of Yugoslavia were to interfere in the possible clashes in eastern Slavonia we would have yet another war. This was stated by Vesna Pesic, president of the GSS, at a news conference yesterday. She stressed that the exodus of Serb population from eastern Slavonia would also lead to the destabilization of Serbia.

Pesic said that a large number of Serbs who have fled western Slavonia are housed in eastern Slavonia, and stressed that a possibility of their return should be discussed within the framework of the agreement on that region. "According to our information, 2,000-3,000 Serbs whose houses have not been destroyed or burned down yet could return to western Slavonia," Pesic said. If a peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia into Croatia does take place, Pesic said, the way of carrying out this reintegration must be clearly explained.

The GSS also appeals to all international and domestic humanitarian organizations to help refugees, because the "situation is such that it could lead to the death of a large number of people." According to Pesic, it would be in the interest of the Serbs in the Serb Republic [RS] to change the leadership and find new representatives who would represent them at the peace negotiations. Pesic described the intention of the RS delegation to visit Slobodan Milosevic as provocative "considering that some RS leaders (Karadzic and Mladic) are being sought by The Hague tribunal."

The GSS president stressed that the state in Serbia owes more than 600 million dinars to the pensioners. "It has been calculated that the pensions for this year will only be paid in March next year as companies are not paying taxes." The workers' strikes in Rakovica, Pesic said, were expected. GSS also protests the sentencing of the

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editor of BORSKE NOVINE for publishing caricatures, and stressed that there are some indications that a Kosijeric Radio editor has also been sentenced to two months in prison.

Kolubara Miners Stage Strike, Demand Pay Raise

AU2210212195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 95 p 7

[Report by J. Putnikovic: "Revolt Because of Salaries"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Just as they have announced, the 16,734 employees of the Kolubara Mining Complex yesterday started a strike. After unsuccessful talks with the management of the Electricity Board of Serbia [EPS] and the Kolubara Mining Complex on Wednesday and Friday, the strike committee yesterday announced a work stoppage until their demands are met. The workers' revolt, which threatened to turn into a spontaneous work stoppage in the absence of an organized strike, has been gaining in strength since 29 June. At that time the EPS management, with the support of the Serbian government and Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic, agreed that the salaries be paid according to the collective pay agreement (the first part to be paid by the 10th and the second by the 25th of the next month); that the difference between the salaries paid out in May, June, and July and the amount that should have been paid out according to the collective pay agreement be regularly paid out in installments; that bonuses and jubilee awards be paid out; and—the employees consider this very important—that work conditions be improved.... Very little of what has been promised has been done. After a series of rallies in mines and other work units in strip mines in Lazarevac, the leaders of the Kolubara trade union organized a ballot in which as many as 95 percent of the workers voted in favor of a strike.

In the explanation of yesterday's decision to hold the strike, which was originally scheduled to take place on 6 October, the strike committee is also demanding that part of the September pay be paid out immediately. This also refers to the third round of bonuses and the difference for the May pay. The committee also demands that a working group be set up to work on the amendments to the parts of the Collective Pay Agreement that regulate work obligations during strikes. A special working group should establish on the basis of a report of the mining inspection the safety of work and take care of improvements in the work conditions since three workers have lost their lives in Kolubara this year and there have been a number of injuries and professional illnesses.

Stressing that attempts to "undermine" the strike were already noticeable yesterday, such as the order that was issued to the drivers not take the third shift to the place of the rally that had preceded the meeting of the strike committee, the Kolubara miners claim that this time they will persevere in the demands for their rights. Help in solving problems is also expected to come from Mirko Marjanovic and Slobodan Milosevic because they asked both of them to mediate, claiming that despite the difficult working conditions the miners have managed to exceed planned production by 25 percent.

Kosovo

Rugova Calls for 'Free, Independent' State

AU2410084195 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 20 Oct 95 pp 4-5

[Interview with "President of the Republic of Kosova" Dr. Ibrahim Rugova by Milazim Krasniqi, BOTA SOT correspondent in Pristina; date not given: "Albanians Are Becoming Makers of Their Own Interests"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Krasniqi] Mr. Chairman, there has recently been increased interest in Kosova, which can be seen from the visits of foreign diplomats there. Is this a sign that the Kosova issue has taken the proper direction?

[Rugova] Certainly. The issue has always taken a proper course and it is currently assuming this course more and more. Regular contacts and visits are very important. Even the latest visits, which are related to the newest U.S. initiative, which has already become an international one, are related to the Kosova issue. Kosova is present in all diplomatic and state circles in Europe and the United States. Kosova, too, has been included in the plan for a overall solution to the crisis. These contacts ensure that the Kosova issue is kept on a good course, based on the political will and the referendum we have held. I would like to add that there are no miracles in politics, unlike what was presented in the past system. Yet, things are clear today. The referendum is considered the fundamental basis, then come the 1992 elections and the organization we have already established. Together with our friends, we should develop this situation within the framework of the solution of all the problems in the former Yugoslavia, in the Balkans, or as I would willingly say, in southeastern Europe.

Kosova Has Been Included in the Plan for an Overall Solution

[Krasniqi] In this context, we can mention that mediator Carl Bildt has declared that Kosova has been included in the plan for an overall solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. Does this encourage you in your peaceful policy?

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[Rugova] Indeeed it does. We have been in continuous contact with the Geneva conference regarding all our problems. A working group on Kosova exists there, and for two years it has worked on concrete issues, such as education, etc.

At the political level, it is important that this political group exists. Even Mr. Bildt, who has been appointed a new mediator, has declared that Kosova, too, is within the framework of the Geneva conference and the U.S. initiative. This is a positive statement that shows that the Kosova issue has been included in all these plans.

[Krasniqi] Some time ago, the U.S. Congress granted over $6 million in aid for Kosova. How is this U.S. aid for Kosova regarded?

[Rugova] This aid is in any event been very positively regarded by both the people of Kosova and our official policy. As you know, the United States has been giving aid to Kosova for three years now. It is very concrete, as the Americans value people who work and who want to be productive and establish their own lives. On this occasion, I would like to say that even in this respect, we have not been without support, from the United States in particular, as a country that has been following the situation in Kosova for years. We can even say that this is the first time someone has given something to Kosova, as in the past things have always been taken away.

Protectorate Would Help Demilitarization of Kosova [subhead]

[Krasniqi] You have called for an international civil protectorate in Kosova until a final solution is found. Has this idea been developed and how is it accepted today?

[Rugova] A protectorate is one of the political, diplomatic, and preventive measures that can be applied until a final solution is reached over a problem, that is, over particular territories, as provided for by international law. As you know, two years ago, we presented our demand for a protectorate to the United Nations, the United States, and to all European states, and this has been considered. Somewhere projects have been drafted. This means that the idea has not been discarded, but has been considered and the possibilities are being examined. We have said that in this situation an international civil protectorate would be more acceptable to both Kosova and Serbia. In this connection, we can mention the issue of neutrality, which we have raised. Here, it does not have the meaning of neutrality in the ideological and political sense, as was the case with the blocs, but it is used in the sense of an ethnic neutrality of the problem that exists between the Albanians and Serbs in the Balkans. It has the meaning of a Kosova open to Serbia and Albania, because Serbia is also our neighbor here, and it will remain here, as we are not dreamers [fantaste]. The protectorate would help in the demilitarization of Kosova and in taking over the administration and power, in which both Albanians and Serbs would participate.

According to international norms, a protectorate could last three years or longer. There have been positive considerations toward this issue. We should look at these questions without nightmares, and should work in this direction and not just follow one style [stil] or another, as this leads nowhere. I consider this normal as we are coming out of a system that had one logic, one mentality, and was maintained through violence. It is important that today Kosova is not only being internationalized, but it is being more affirmed and recognized with every passing day.

[Krasniqi] At a meeting a few days ago, you declared that we have reason to look at the future of Kosova with optimism. Would you like to provide a few details about your assessment of the future of Kosova?

[Rugova] It is both a vision and as things in fact stand. We all know that the situation of this occupation is serious, but with our organization and the reality we have created, we have managed to establish, a foundation from which we can look at the future with optimism. The organization we have established in Kosova, starting with the Constitutional Declaration, the Constitution, then the referendum, elections, the organization of solidarity, education (You can imagine what could have happened if we had not had schools during these five years), health service, etc., the pluralism we have accepted, and the political and state structures we have set up are important, and the world praises these. Any foreigner arriving here is astonished with our organization, with our youth, whom I call the generation of the republic, and who are very practical. All these things give us the courage to hold our ground longer, to resist more. We should also be optimistic about the friends we have made. Tomorrow Kosova will be a country just like all those countries that have come out of the former Yugoslavia. It will be sympathetic and rich, in extensive natural and human resources, considering also the experience we have had during the latest years. This is my optimism. I usually say I am a rational optimist. My people, who have done so much, have made so many sacrifices, and have never surrendered, have made me such.

National and State Interests Are Very Practical

[Krasniqi] Mr. Chairman, you always have a high regard for the commitment of our compatriots in the diaspora

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regarding the aid to Kosova and the internationalization of the issue. Do you think that Kosova has done enough for our people who live abroad?

[Rugova] I would rather say that these are people who are living abroad temporarily. I do not like the word "diaspora" because if we translate it from the Greek, it means "lost seed." In the current conditions we do not consider them as "lost seed." I always remark that it was those people who first raised the issue of Kosova abroad for us, as we should not forget that at one time we did not even dare to speak here. It is well known what terror prevailed in Kosova. They were the ones who raised political and other issues. The contributions they make to the funds of the republic, as well for the solidarity fund, are also very important. It is also quite important for us that they support their own families. They have contributed, are still contributing, and they will continue to contribute as much as possible, as this is an obligation toward Kosova. Good understanding and good faith is requested from them. They should also get used to an Albanian pluralism, as they have become used to the pluralism of the countries in which they are living. National and state interests are very practical.

[Krasniqi] That means that this form of the organization of Albanians abroad has proved efficient?

[Rugova] It has proven effective as, even there, we must tolerate pluralism. We have set up the first Kosova representative offices in several countries. Yet, the role and function of the offices and Democratic League of Kosova, which is a party that accomplished the first direct organization, is also known. I am of the opinion that this pluralism should be preserved there as well. In fact, cooperation has proved effective in the case of rallies organized there. To tell the truth, the other arguments have been proposals. We should be very pragmatic. We should keep and develop these proposals so that they function and yield results.

[Krasniqi] Mr. Chairman, how do you regard Albania's diplomatic and political assistance in the Kosova issue?

[Rugova] Fortunately, after 50 years, Albanians are cooperating together on a political and national level. I regard Albania's support and assistance in our efforts to be incorporated in all institutions as very important, because with its opening, possibilities will be created for Albania to have its say in every international institution. The friends that Albania, Kosova, and the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and other areas are making have created a much better atmosphere. Despite the serious situation in Kosova, which is the most serious part of the Albanian issue, today we are stronger than ever.

We Have Become Makers of Our Interests

[Krasniqi] Can one draw the conclusion that the Albanian people have been affirmed as an element of stability in the Balkans?

[Rugova] The Albanian people have been affirmed as an element of stability in the Balkans, as well as being capable of establishing their own interests. Now we can say that the ideological oak is falling and Albanians are appearing as they really are. Their own function, and their national, intellectual, and—why not—economic power, are coming to the fore. The economic resistance of Kosova itself testifies to this.

[Krasniqi] Your policy and the entire Albanian policy insist on dialogue and a peaceful solution to the Kosova issue. Have there been new initiatives?

[Rugova] There have been continuous efforts, I can even say there has been pressure on Belgrade to hold talks. At the moment there is nothing concrete. However, we hail any signal, any sign from the Serbian side. Within the framework of the Geneva conference, we have been talking for two years about specific problems, education, health service, and the media, but the Serbian side has not accepted anything. It was good, however, that we talked. Our humanitarian activists and intellectuals later established several contacts. They can be considered important as they set up a contact point. To be frank, this is a continuous initiative on the part of the international community for the start of talks. Our position is that these talks be held in the presence of a third party, as today this party is legal. I hope that Serbia will soon be obliged or will agree to hold talks. This is the only way to overcome the current situation. I do not want to create panic, but on the basis of the ratio of forces, any conflict would be very dangerous, first for Kosova, and then for the others.

[Krasniqi] At the end of our interview, Mr. Chairman, do you have any message for our readers and our compatriots in the West?

[Rugova] I do not usually give many instructions and messages, as they come out through the course of the work and the activity we have carried out and are still doing. I wish your newspaper success and hope it will carry on its good work. This is a form of pluralism as well. We should be used to having more newspapers there as well. Would that we could have these newspapers in Kosova, too. I would like us continuously to preserve the good conviction, good understanding, and faith in each other, and if necessary to be organized together in actions. Our people in the West have done a good job so far, they have helped us a lot, and have shown great determination. I would

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like us to be able to create the possibilities as soon as possible for them to enter Kosova freely. Yet, I would like them to come to an independent Kosova. I do not suffer from the phobia about where anyone lives, as we will be integrated in Europe [sentence as published]. A new generation of ours is being created in the West, which does not differ much from the youth in Kosova. From the rally in Geneva, I saw new and young leaders who showed solidarity and pledged to assist. I tell them not to get upset, get over their longing for Kosova and the families they have left behind, and work hard to make Kosova free and independent.

Criminal Charges Filed for 'Terrorist Attack'

LD2310202595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Oct. 23 (TANJUG)—Criminal charges were raised in the centre of Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet) Monday against unidentified perpetrators of a terrorist attack on a police patrol, in which three policemen were wounded, of whom two seriously, the city Secretariat for Internal Affairs reported.

A Secretariat statement said several unidentified persons had staged an armed attack on a police patrol in a police vehicle in the Pristina municipality on Saturday, Oct. 21.

The statement specified that the attackers had ambushed the vehicle, opening fire from automatic weapons and seriously wounding a policemen Miodrag Mladenovic and Srdjan Jovanovic, while policeman Slavoljub Arsenijevic was lightly injured.

The Pristina Secretariat said professionals were most likely the perpetrators of what they termed terrorist attack.

The attackers first fired at the tyres of the police vehicle, then cut off radio communications, fired several rounds at the police patrol and quickly fled the scene of the attack.

A strong ethnic-Albanian separatist movement has been active in Kosmet for years. Its aim is to have the province break away from Serbia and Yugoslavia and join neighbouring Albania.

Ethnic-Albanian separatists have staged quite a few terrorist attacks on members of Serbia's Interior Ministry.

'Open Discrimination' Against Albanian Reported

AU2210213395 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 19 Oct 95 p 5

[Report by Avni I.: "Albanian Language and Writing Are Being Discriminated Against"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Alongside the violation of human rights and freedoms of Albanians in Presheve [Presevo], Bujanovc [Bujanovac], and Medvegje [Medvedja] in education, culture, and information, the current Serbian power is perpetrating an open discrimination in the use of official language and writing, which is a remarkably important component in preserving the national identity.

In daily practice, a bilingual official use is applied neither in the Communal Assembly in Presheve nor in the fields of urban traffic, urbanism, health service, education, etc. Thus, for instance, the official birth registers, questionnaires for administration work, certificates, etc., are being issued only in the Serbian language. A more discriminatory situation in this direction exists in the state organizations, such as the PTT, the Geodesy Directorate, the Elektrodistribucion Enterprise, etc. In the Communal Court, all the acts, seals, and even the trial proceedings are kept only in Serbian. All the documents and decisions by the Financial Police, the Trade Sanitary Inspectorate, etc. are issued only in Serbian.

We cited these examples in Presheve, where the situation is somewhat "better" for, as is known, 95 percent of Presheve population is made up of Albanians. Meanwhile, in Bujanovc and Medvegje, there exists an overall discriminatory situation in this direction to the detriment of Albanian language and writing.

Exodus and Degeneration of Youth Is Being Fought Against

Just like the other areas populated by Albanians, the grievous phenomenon of young people leaving their ethnic territories has been evident also in Presheve and has long since been manifested in various ways and means. The reasons why these youngsters are leaving the country are many and mainly consist in making a living for themselves and their families, trying to escape the Serb repression, avoiding service in the Serbian Army, etc. Thus, a considerable number of youngsters from Presheve are currently abroad, hoping for a better time and thinking to return home after conditions are created. Emigration is a serious wound for the Presheve youth, while the other part of the youngsters who have remained home are trying to survive in these occupying circumstances by resorting to various forms and ways. [passage omitted]

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